

1509/1189

HISTORICAL ESSAYS.

HISTORIA TESTIS TEMPORUM, LUX VERITATIS,
VITA MEMORIÆ, MAGISTER VITÆ, NUNCIA VE-
TUSTATIS.

NESCIRE QUID ANTEA QUAM NATUS SIS ACCIDERIT,
ID EST SEMPER ESSE PUERUM.



HISTORICAL ESSAYS

ON THE

L I V E S

OF

AUGUSTUS CÆSAR; AND LEWIS XIV. OF CARDINALS
RICHELIEU AND XIMENES; AND OF WILLIAM III.
OF ENGLAND, AND HENRY IV. OF FRANCE:

TO WHICH THE PRIZES PROPOSED BY
HIS EXCELLENCY

JOHN, EARL OF BUCKINGHAMSHIRE,
LORD LIEUTENANT OF IRELAND,

IN THE YEARS 1777, 1778, AND 1779;

WERE ADJUDGED.

TO WHICH ARE ADDED,

THE WIDOWED QUEEN;

AND

PHILIPPA TO EDWARD III.

BEING A

P O E M A N D O R A T I O N,

TO WHICH PRIZES WERE ALSO ADJUDGED

BY THE PROVOST AND SENIOR FELLOWS OF TRINITY-COLLEGE,
DUBLIN, IN HILARY-TERM, 1777.

BY THE REV. JEROM ALLEY.

D U B L I N:

PRINTED FOR THOMAS WEBB, NO. 25, SKINNER-ROW.

MDCCLXXXII.



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A
COMPARATIVE VIEW
OF THE
L I V E S
OF
AUGUSTUS CÆSAR,
AND OF
LEWIS XIVth.



TO
THE RIGHT REVEREND
J O H N,
L O R D B I S H O P
OF
C L O G H E R,
A JUDGE OF LITERATURE,
AND A
FRIEND OF THE LEARNED,
THE TWO FOLLOWING ESSAYS
ARE
I N S C R I B E D,
AS A MEMORIAL OF THE RESPECT OF
HIS MOST OBLIGED, AND
MOST OBEDIENT
HUMBLE SERVANT,
JEROM ALLEY.



A

COMPARATIVE VIEW

OF THE LIVES OF

AUGUSTUS CÆSAR,

AND OF

LEWIS XIVth.

WHEN the Egyptians were in their glory, it was a custom, which the policy of that illustrious nation had wisely sanctified, to hold, immediately after the demise of those whose lives had been remarkable, a public inquest upon the merit of their actions, which was conducted with all the severity of justice. The discoveries resulting from this enquiry, irrevocably determined the portion of fame or of infamy

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COMPARATIVE VIEW OF THE

which should distinguish their memories. They whose conduct was adjudged to have been regulated by the disinterested principles of national virtue, were honoured with splendid obsequies, and interred in public monuments; while others, however dignified in life, whose manners had been governed by little and illiberal motives, were handed over to an officer, whose interference in the funeral rites was deemed disgrace, and who privately gave them sepulture, in an obscure place set apart for the purpose. In this ceremonial the people at large were interested, not only because the kindred of the deceased were constrained to attend, and give evidence sometimes to the discredit of those whom they had loved, but because they were assured the like posthumous enquiry would be made into their own actions. Hence, therefore, arose a double incentive to a virtuous life: and, although we are not to imagine, that all men felt the consequences of the institution alike, we may safely conclude, it was generally fruitful of good effects.

For this custom, which ceased in less happy times, the integrity of the historian became



became the only substitute; yet, though the few at least were within his reach, he did not always maintain that dignity of character, which, in many cases, might have rendered his interposition a check upon their vices. Whether from motives of interest or of fear; whether from remissness of attention or national partiality, truth, whom at all times he should have idolized, who should have directed his discussions, animated his remarks, and sanctified his conclusions, was too little revered. Nor have such circumstances operated in antiquity alone. They have extended their influence to these times; and, hence, we presume, it is, that the works of some later historians are so uncertain and contradictory; nay, that the same writer, in his different productions, sometimes applauds and stigmatizes the same character. †

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† The Abbé Millot, speaking in his “Elements of the history of England,” of Lewis the XIVth. says——“Smollet *properly* represents that monarch “as a factious tyrant, who sacrificed the repose of “Europe to his ambition and his pride.”—— And he immediately adds——“The revocation of

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COMPARATIVE VIEW OF THE

AN influence thus fatal to the dignity, and destructive of the importance of history, though it should be reprobated every where, is, nevertheless, found to operate in all nations, particularly those under despotic government, and in none more than France. Indeed, many are the annalists of that country, who, however illustrious they may be in point of genius, are so extravagantly partial, especially when they treat of their popular characters, the Henry's or Lewis's, as to make it highly imprudent to put opinion upon their mercy. He who can be weak enough to do so, may be often gratified by the efforts of ingenuity, at the expence of truth; he may be charmed by narratives which misstate facts; and may be seduced to admire some

“ the edict of Nantz, and the blood that bedewed
 “ the continent, justify the records of history
 “ against him.”——The curious reader may compare these extracts with the annals of Lewis in the “ Elements of the history of France,” and determine upon the consistency of the Abbé as to that favourite character. Was it necessary, many proofs might be adduced, of the truth of the observation above made, from Voltaire also, whose partiality to his hero is too glaring to escape the notice of the most superficial observer.

actions

actions as splendid, which honest common sense would teach him to abhor.

BESIDES such partiality, there are other circumstances which tend to contract the use of historical composition. While some writers pique themselves upon a brevity which is really obscure, there are others who make a merit of reciting facts without forming conclusions; of developing complex systems of policy, without advert-
ing to their consequences in practice; and of excluding even that species of sentimental animadversion, which might be directed, at once, to inform the understanding and improve the heart. Were the historian to address himself to the intelligent alone, a plan even thus contracted might be deemed sufficient: but, as the majority of readers are by no means capable of forming just inferences from facts, conclusions cannot be too explicitly made. Judging on these principles, we imagine no species of historical composition, so far as it is licensed to extend, can rival that, which, making a comparative scrutiny of actions, determines, like the Egyptian inquisitors of old, not from their splendour, but intrinsic merit. It opens a field to the
ingenious,

ingenious, in which, while judgment expatiates, fancy may explore delight; it gives characters a strength of expression, of which, otherwise represented, they appear incapable; it renders illustrious deeds still more alluring, by exhibiting them in contrast to each other; and, on account of the moral applications it adopts, makes a detail of even the inglorious particulars of such lives as we are about to review, not a little propitious to the cause of virtue.

Comparative view of the birth and education of Octavius, afterwards Augustus Cæsar, and of Lewis XIVth.

OUR celebrated Roman was the son of Caius Octavius, and the nephew of Julius Cæsar, whose consanguinity was the only honour he had to boast from family connection †. Though he laboured, almost from his childhood, under an imbecility of constitution ‡, he by no means suffered his weakness to impede the progress of a genius §, intended by nature for action and enterprize, and, in a great measure, indebted for its polish and perfection to

† Suetonius Aug. C. 8. Hooke Vol. VII. Univers. Hist. Vol. XIII. p. 83. Prideaux's connections, Anno 44.

‡ Macquer's abridg. Rom. Hist. ad finem.

§ Crev. in Contin. Roll. Rom. Hist. Vol. IX.

that

that indefatigable industry for which he was always remarkable, and to an inflexible resolution, which looked upon difficulty without concern. Hence it was that he quickly became conspicuous as well for ability at those exercises *, a perfect knowledge whereof was necessary to ensure pre-eminence to a Roman citizen, as for his other attainments †; amongst which he had found oratory so agreeable and successful a pursuit, that he was enabled, while yet a boy, to pronounce an oration from the rostra ‡. His study, however, was not restricted to books §. He considered the world as a comprehensive volume which deserved his attention: nor did he fail to give early proofs of an intelligence which spoke the earnestness of his application ||.

* Crev. *ibid.*

† *Univ. Hist.* Vol. XIII.

‡ In honour of his deceased grandmother, Julia. *Crev. Con. Roll.* Vol. IX. *Universal Hist.* Vol. XIII. p. 84.

§ He had but little time to devote to literary pursuits; for, so early as his thirteenth year, he attended Julius Cæsar in the Spanish war; from which period, until he became employed in the service of the Republic, he was almost continually engaged in the camp.

|| See the story of Amatus in *Nic. Dam. Instit.* Aug.

ON the other hand, Lewis was born to empire; and, although surrounded by difficulties which originated in the misconduct of Richelieu, his education was neither interrupted by them, or the subsequent misfortunes which arose from the mal-administration of Mazarine †. Men the most respectable as to learning, and the most amiable as to manners, were appointed to instruct him*. But their efforts were attended with little success. The prime of his youth, which should have been devoted to an acquisition of knowledge, was lost in indolence or sacrificed to frivolous enjoyment †: a circumstance, probably, which had a mischievous effect upon the whole of his future conduct. This depravity of temper, however, was not his only misfortune. The selfish Ma-

† See Card. De Retz's Mem. Voltaire's Lewis Vol. II.

* Millot, in his history of France, though more modest, seems as well inclined to apologize for the follies of this reign, as Voltaire himself. Hence the abbé, we presume, asserts, that "the education of Lewis had been much neglected:" but this declaration opposes the sentiments of the best historians.

† See Voltaire's age of Lew. Vol. II. passim. Card. De Retz, and Joli's Mem.

zarine, eager to retain power, was studious only to prolong the inability of his sovereign; and, therefore, instead of checking, encouraged his wildest pursuits §. To these circumstances it was owing, that the conduct of Lewis, which, about this period, should have presaged an extent of ability and worth, occasioned the nation, on the contrary, to despair of acquiring consequence during the reign of a monarch, who, for idle gratification, was weak enough to renounce, at once, a knowledge of literature, of his country and of mankind*.

NOR was this national despondency of short continuance †. Lewis had already been declared of age with unusual splendour; but, this declaration, which the court imagined would have extorted acclamations of joy, was received with silent indifference by the people; who, fancying they had nothing to hope, experienced as little satisfaction as they expressed on the occasion ‡. Nevertheless, as if insensible of

Of their conduct from their entrance into life, to the establishment of their power.

§ Voltaire Vol. II.

* De Retz's Mem. Volt. &c.

† De Retz Mem.

‡ Joli's Memoirs, Vol. I. p. 222.

this

this contemptuous coldness of the public, as if uninterested in the turbulence of the times, and the depravity of his servants, of which he had been well informed, Lewis continued regardless of every thing, those follies which had long engaged his attention alone excepted †. For all this, however, youth might be urged as some apology, had he not persevered in a course of indolence and dissipation, to an age when reason has usually a considerable influence upon the conduct †. Unaffected by circumstances which, probably, would have roused the attention of any other person of his rank, he beheld the banishment of Mazarine, though decreed by the Parliament, assented to by the Queen-mother, and sanctified by the voice of the nation, with all the coldness and unconcern of an indifferent spectator. Had he the ordinary ambition of youth, or a love of country to gratify, he would have seized upon this lucky event, which, while it restored peace to his kingdom, gave him the fairest opportunity of becoming its master, and of indulging his desires. But

‡ Joli's Mem. De Retz Mem. Voltaire, &c.

† Vide Abbé Millot's Elem. Hist. France.

so far was he from cherishing such a laudable resolution, that, when the fickle temper of the times encouraged Mazarine to return from exile, he permitted that object of former conspiracy and contempt, to enjoy even an increase of authority †. Nor did he continue less subservient to the queen-mother, who, to gratify a like lust of power, exerted herself, as zealously, to prevent his making a respectable figure in the state. Hence, for a considerable time after he had attained his majority, he was scarcely more than nominally known to the army or in the government; * and, hence, even when his coffers were full, he was frequently obliged to apply to his courtiers for pecuniary aid, and to submit to those shameful exactions, which creditors are too generally inclined to practice upon the needy †.

† The importance which Lewis permitted this upstart Italian to assume, may be fully imagined, when it is told, that he frequently held the council in his own chamber, while he shaved, or dressed, or diverted himself with a bird or a monkey.

* Abbé Millot, vol. 2d.

† Vide Voltaire, vol. II. Millot, vol. II.

BUT

BUT the date of his freedom was now at hand. The death of Mazarine, the mild, artful and rapacious Mazarine †, was an event of felicity to France. From that moment, the people, who had been justly provoked by the oppressions practiced upon them during a long minority, began to hope; for, from that moment, Lewis, who, at best, had, but upon a few occasions, feebly exercised the prerogatives of a king, seemed determined to exert them, and to signalize his name §. Extremes, which frequently distinguish great characters, formed his. From indolence he sprang into action, and, from being the slave of a minister, aspired, at once, to the sovereignty of Europe!

CONTRADICTIONS, such as these, impressed not upon the minds of his contemporaries, an ambiguity as to the early disposition of Octavius. Indeed, it was so far from being adulterated by any thing heterogeneous, that a graceful uniformity of spirit and conduct, gave a character to his youth, and endeared him to Cæsar,

† His treasure nearly amounted to 200,0000 of French money.

§ Voltaire's Age of Lewis, vol. I.

who

who delighted to reward his worth †. An influence of such importance so nobly obtained, enabled him to indulge, even to luxury, benevolence, which seemed congenial with his nature †. A temper which excited him to open his arms to man, encouraged men to open their hearts to him. And, now, flattered, perhaps, by the encreasing number of his friends, he began to cherish those bold hopes of advancement and glory, which were soon to display themselves in action, when the ill-timed conspiracy of Brutus and Cassius, reduced him at once from opulence and honour, nearly to a state of indigence and contempt. He exhibited, however, no unmanly grief, no humiliating despondency at this melancholy juncture; but, on the contrary, appeared without timidity in one of the

† Hist. Univers. Vol. XIII, p. 84. Hooke, Vol. VII. Crev. Contin. Roll. Vol. IX, &c.

‡ He obtained pardon for the brother of Agrippa, who, even after the battle of Pharsalia, continued a partizan of the Pompeys. He interceded for the Saguntines, with equal success, who were, likewise, in opposition to the interests of Cæsar: and, indeed, all those who, about this period, had occasion to implore the clemency of the emperor, experienced the beneficence of Octavius. Nic. Damasc. de Instit. Aug. Crev. Vol. IX, &c.

most

most trying characters, that was ever exhibited on the political stage §. Though, at this æra, but in his eighteenth year †; though bereft of his only powerful friend, and, perhaps, from his family and name, obnoxious to the jealousy of the aristocratical party who had assassinated that friend ‡; though he was well aware, that the murderers, from their situation, number and connexions, were a formidable body; though he knew that to bring any one of those to account for the crime, was to incur the enmity of all; though the effects which had been bequeathed to him by the late dictator, were seized upon by Antony*, who, with the administration, had

§ Vide Macquer's abridg. Rom. Hist. fere ad finem. Crev. vol. IX. Hooke, vol. VII.

† Univer. Hist. vol. XIII. Crev. vol. IX, &c.

‡ Vertot's Rom. Rev. vol. II. Hooke, vol. VII.

* By this means, the consul possessed himself of seven hundred millions of sesterces; and, soon afterwards, he added one hundred millions to that sum, which were obtained by force, from Calphurnia. Nor did he fail to increase this immense treasure, by selling spurious decrees as the real ordinances of Cæsar, which granted immunities and favours of various kinds, not only to individuals, but to cities and states.—“Nemo ullius rei,” (says Cicero,

had the principal power of the commonwealth in his hands; though he was made to believe, that the affections of the people, and, consequently, their strength, had been engrossed by this his pretended guardian but real foe, who uniformly directed his actions to maintain absolute power to himself*; and though, to sum up all his difficulties at once, he knew that to assume the name and declare himself the heir of Cæsar, who had adopted him in his will, would be to appear the avenger of his death, or, in other words, the foe at once of the senate, of Antony, and of the friends

Cicero, speaking of this infamous traffic) “fuit emptor, cui defuerit hic venditor.” Phil. II. n. 97.—And, to enforce this condemnation, he adds—“Tanti acervi nummorum apud istum constructur, ut jam appendantur, non numerantur pecuniæ.”—Wealth, he knew, was the support of his influence; and, hence, in part, his inclination to retain to his own use what he had amassed, though, by doing so, he should defraud three hundred thousand men, exclusive of the Roman citizens, whom Cæsar had remembered in his will. Besides, it is probable, Antony was fearful of the popularity Octavius might obtain by fulfilling his trust as representative of the emperor.

* Vide Plutarch in Vit. Brut. Hist. Uni. vol. XIII. Appian. L. III & VIII. Dio. L. XLIV. Cicero in Epist. passim, & in Phil.

to

to the Republican form of government, he, nevertheless, resolutely determined, in spite of such dangers, and in opposition to the entreaties of his mother, who would have prevailed upon him to suspend his claims to a time of greater security §, immediately to assert his title, as well to the name as to the estates which Cæsar had left him *.

WITH this view, he passed from Apollonia †, and, having arrived at Rome, demanded audience of Antony. The consul, anxious to impress upon the mind of his youthful suitor every idea of the importance which was derived from office, and of the superiority which he was determined to maintain, suffered Octavius to continue some time in waiting ‡. An interview

§ Appian. Nicolaus. Damasc. de Instit. Aug.

* Vide Crev. Con. Roll. vol. IX. Hooke, vol. VII. Vertot vol. ii. Macquer's Ab. fere ad finem. Hist. Un. vol. xiii. Velleius says, it was the opinion of Octavius, that a renunciation of the name of which Cæsar had not thought him unworthy, would be an act of the most sordid meanness. Vell. ii. 60.

† Vide Suet. Aug. 8 & 39. Plut. Brut. Appian Civil. Bell. I. iii. Dio. l. xlv. Hist. Un. vol. xiii.

‡ Vertot vol. II. Un. Hist. vol. XIII. p. 86.

being

being at length granted, the youth, as if heir to Cæsar's spirit as well as fortune, immediately addressed the consul in a tone of pre-eminence becoming the cause of the injured and the oppressed.—Is it possible, he said, that you, who were befriended by my father, that you who participated his power, and were exalted by his influence to the first departments of the state, are so deficient in a sense of the honour of such a friendship, and so void of gratitude for favours thus liberally conferred, as not only to descend to an alliance with the foes of his memory and merits, but also, forgetting you are Antony and consul of Rome, tamely to make sacrifice of your reputation to interest, and of your conscience to a faction, by suffering those assassins to escape, whom Justice should hunt through the world? If you are not this fallen character; if you are the person whom Cæsar thought worthy of commanding his armies; revert to the time when he was a man, and let the view inspire you with sentiments of veneration, and those sentiments impel you to action! Tell the senate, tell Rome and the world, you are the avenger of his death. Ally yourself to me, to his kindred, and the

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soldiery

foldiery who remember his worth ; nor fear for our strength ; there is power in the justness of our cause ; but were we in want of support, the people would assist ; for it is not their crime that atonement has not been had already. If, however, you are to be appalled by a fear of offending the senate, permit me to act on this just occasion ; and, though without your assistance at the head of my friends, my purpose shall be my support, nor shall the conduct of the son of Cæsar disgrace his cause. This is my request ; for as to the treasures of my father, I leave them with you, his money only excepted, as that is necessary for discharging his legacies bequeathed to the people. For those other bequests which shall remain due, I will endeavour to provide, by selling the estates he left me ; and sufficiently rich shall I think myself, if I can inherit his glory, and the public love.—Antony, though astonished and alarmed at the determined manner in which Octavius asserted his claims, affected an indifference on the occasion that ill became him. Instead of promising a restoration of the effects, which he had so unjustly seized upon, and was determined to retain, not only as the
certain

certain means of promoting his own ambitious designs, but of preventing such as Octavius might be hereafter inclined to practice against him ||, he pretended to think, that, as the fortune of Cæsar was originally the property of the people, it was, now, with peculiar propriety, to be applied to the public use †. This injury was heightened by insult. He reproached the ambition, and derided the youth of Octavius ¶; who, feeling that these wrongs acquired a degree of inveteracy from being offered to him by a creature of his father, became the more determined upon obtaining redress §. For which purpose, he associated himself, in one respect, unnaturally indeed, with the eloquent, but misguided Cicero *, by whose influ-

|| Hist. Univer. Vol. XIII. p. 91.

† Vertot. Rev. Rome, Vol. II. Hist. Univ. Vol. XIII. p. 89. Livy, L. CXVII. Appian. L. III. 531 & 533. Dio. L. xlv. Vell. Patere. L. II. c 60.

¶ Plut. in Anton. Roll. Con. Vol. IX. p. 397.

§ Crev. Con. Roll. Vol. IX. Hooke, Vol. VII.

* Who had been a foe to Cæsar.

ence he quickly secured the favour of the senate †.

AND, now, by an ostentatious but well timed liberality, for the maintenance of which he thought it prudent to sell even his patrimony and inheritance, he rendered himself the darling of the people †. Nor did he deem this sufficient. He traversed Campania, Samnium, and many other parts of Italy, to assemble his own and his father's friends; and, in a short time, established a permanent and considerable power*. Antony, however, by his consular authority, still maintained a pre-eminence. But he had not prudence to profit by his strength. The impolitic severities, which, at this time, he began to inflict upon the soldiery, and the haughty threats with which he insulted the senate§,

‡ Auct. de Caus. cor. Eloq. c. 28. Plut. in Cic. Suet. Aug. 10. Dio.

† Mac. Abridg. ad finem. Crév. Vol. IX. p. 400. Plut. Appian. Dio. Univers. Hist. Vol. XIII.

* Vide Cicero's III & IV Phil. & Epist. ad Attic. xvi. Hist. Uni. Vol. XIII. p. 96.

§ He declared, that those only should live who conquered. "Nisi qui vicisset, victurum neminem." Vide Phil. III. 27, and V. 20.

who

who wisely considered his designs as dangerous to their liberty, encouraged a desertion from amongst the former, and induced the latter, almost unanimously, to oppose him †. A crisis so favourable could not be overlooked by the young Octavius, especially as his rival seemed wishful to provoke him by new and studied insults ‡. He felt as became the heir of Cæsar; and, being solicited by the senate, to whom, on account of the dangerous designs of Antony ||, his assistance had now become of the utmost importance, he readily undertook the command of their armies, in conjunction with the consuls Hirtius and Panfa. A declaration of war on the part of the commonwealth §, immediately followed. The republican generals, in consequence, hastened to the relief of Decimus Brutus, a favourite of the senate, whom Antony had besieged in Modena, with a design, as he pretended, of bringing him to account as

† Vide Phil. III. 4, 10, and V. 22. Crev. IX. Pomp. de Aurig. Juris.

‡ Plut. in Ant. &c.

|| Dio. Appian, &c.

§ Vide Cicero's III & IV. Phil. Livy CXVIII. Vell. Pat. L. II. c. 81. Dio. L. XLVI. p. 310.

one of the assassins of Cæsar*. This conduct of Antony, however, was dictated by another and much more powerful motive. He saw, with regret, that Decimus, from holding, under a decree of the state, the province of Cis-Alpine Gaul, possessed a power which might be too successfully exerted to check his ambitious schemes. Wherefore, he sought, by ruining that formidable foe, to establish a superiority over the senate, whose commands he directly disobeyed, and whose decree for an oblivion of the circumstances of Cæsar's death, he violated, by the trespass thus committed upon the person of their servant. On this occasion it was, that Antony and Octavius, who both cherished in secret, an inclination to overturn the commonwealth, and engross its power, first fought for an empire in contemplation. Each had the like hope of success, and already flattered himself with the like prize from conquest. The two armies but saw each other when the battle began. It was as fierce as it was obstinate, and only ended with the day. Except the death

* Crev. Contin. Roll. Vol. IX. &c.

of Panfa, the loss was nearly equal on either side; however, the action was by no means decisive*. Antony still retained his camp, from which he was to be forced, before the republican party could justly boast a victory. The better to effect this purpose, Octavius, and his colleague, employed three days to discover the weakest part of his entrenchments, which being found, they made their attack with such vehemence, that they suddenly penetrated to the centre of the camp; when the gallant Hirtius was unfortunately slain §. The sole command devolved, now, upon Octavius, who continued the fight with equal courage and conduct, and kept possession of the camp, until Antony, by an effort of despair, obliged him to retire. Nevertheless, by the good order which he maintained in his retreat, the bravery of his legions who were stimulated by his example, and the heroism he exhibited in receiving a standard from a dying officer, and bearing the honourable burden to his camp, wounded and covered with blood

* Crevier. Hooke, &c.

§ Hooke. Crevier, &c.

as he was, he secured to himself the advantage and glory of the day †.

THOUGH Antony was so much reduced by this conflict, as to be obliged to raise the siege, and flee to the Alps, Octavius, with infinite policy, avoided ruining him in his retreat, notwithstanding it was evidently in his power to have compassed such a scheme. This artful conduct was dictated by a well founded consciousness that the senate, however they might flatter and caress him upon the occasion, had used him but as an instrument to execute their designs of re-establishing the republican form of government; and, consequently, so soon as their business was perfected, that they would recall the

† See Hooke. Crevier. Suet. Aug. &c. The recital of this circumstance, uncorroborated though it stands by facts which might be easily adduced, and which the impartial reader would consider as equally forcible, forms a striking contrast to those contradictory tales of Vertot, Montesquieu, Abbé St. Real and others, which militate against the war like character of Octavius, whose foes originally fabricated what has been since published by prejudice or credulity, but rejected by many of the best historians, and particularly by Dio. Appian. Florus. Suet. Aug. Crevier. Hooke.

power

power they had put into his hands §.

THUS he retained the authority to himself, upon which the completion of his hopes entirely depended, and, without offending the senate, preserved his importance in the opinion of that body. The advantages he promised to himself from this measure, were soon realized; for, Antony, who, as we have intimated, had not been entirely disarmed, became able, in a short time, to rise from his humiliation, though not as strong as haughty as ever, by effecting a junction with the wealthy and ambitious Lepidus, who, at the time this alliance took place, was in the service of the republic. This transaction, which awakened every apprehension of the senate, gave Octavius the wished for opportunity of completing the boldness of his designs. He immediately seized upon the moment of their terror, and, at once, usurped dominion over the state.*

AT

§ Tacit Ann. IV. 34. Vertot Vol. II. Suet. Aug. 12.

* By compelling the senate to elect him to the consulship; from which time, the most respectable writers, in contradiction to the opinion of Usher, and some other learned chronologists, date the beginning of his reign. Livy affirms, L. CXIX.
and

Of their
military and
political
proceedings
subsequent
to their ac-
cession to
power, and
of their ci-
vil govern-
ment.

AT this æra, it is incumbent upon us to observe, that Octavius perverted authority to purposes which humanity must condemn. Persuaded that he was incircled by pretending friends, and, from his late conduct, odious to all the republican party, as much as to Antony *, he determined, under an appearance of avenging his fathers death, at once to cut off all those who were averse from his measures. Accordingly, numbers were accused, convicted, banished, or put to death †. But Brutus and Cassius, who had now become able, were determined, on the first favourable opportunity, to attack the tyrant. They had won the distant provinces of the empire to their cause ‡, and levied an army of twenty legions to support the republic. A force so formidable might

(and Macrobius. Lib. I. Saturnal. c. 12. as well as Vall. Paterc. are nearly of his opinion) that he was but nineteen at that period; and Plutarch informs us, from the memoirs of Octavius himself, that he had not as yet arrived at his twentieth year.

* Hooke. Crevier Con. Roll.

‡ Appian Civil. Bell. L. V. p. 488. Suet. Ner. c. 3 & Aug. c. 27.

† Vide Cic. L. XII. ad familiar. Ep. 14. Dio L. XLVII. p. 344. Joseph. Antiq. L. XIV. c. 18. et de bell. Jud. L. I. c. 9.

have

have conquered any thing but the policy of Octavius. He, however, knew that to prevent alliances, was, in a great measure, to overcome. To Antony and Lepidus, therefore, he directed his attention, determined, if possible, to supercede every pretence for their uniting with his other foes. He, accordingly, entered into a treaty for a partition of power with those two, judging that a certain possession of some authority would be more agreeable to their wishes, than a casual acquisition of more. The event verified his opinion. The treaty was acceded to, and the well known triumvirate established †.

THE parties who formed this faction, secure as they thought themselves in the superiority of their strength, fought not, by any act of beneficence, to reconcile a kind of treason to the public, which, except in a single instance, had never been known in Rome. On the contrary, their first act of power was the publication of a proscriptive decree, formed on the stale pretence, which Octavius and Antony

† Vide Macq. Abridg. p. 437. Crev. Vol. IX. p. 488. Appian de Bell. Civ. I. IV. sub init. Univerf. Hist. Vol. XIII. p. 139.

had

had before used, of avenging Cæsar's assassination, but calculated, in fact, to authorize and encourage an unthinking rabble to riot in the blood not only of all those who had been anywise concerned in that assassination, but of such whose wealth the usurpers were inclined to possess, or whose connections they had reason to fear *. They, then, proceeded to portion out the Italian towns as rewards to the military; nor did they omit any action that could render a junction firm, which originated in ambition, and was cemented by blood.

BUT, now, Brutus and Cassius, those sole supporters of the declining interests of freedom, who, by a variety of means †, as well as by offering peace and protection to the proscribed, had greatly encreased their numbers, appeared as formidable

* Vide Auct. de Caus. Cor. Eloq. Pliny. Valer. Maximus. Livy. Velleius. Seneca. Plutarch says, somewhere, on this occasio, Οὕτως ἐξεπισον ἀνθρωπίνων λογισμῶν μᾶλλον ὑπόθυμῃ λύσσης δ' ἀπειδείξαν, ὥς ὕδιν ἀνθρώπων θηρίον ἐσὶν ἀγρυπτερον, ἐξακσίαν παθεῖ προσλαβόντος.

† Vide Dio L. XLVII. p. 34, 35. Cicero L. XII. ad famil. Ep. 11, 12. Joseph. Antiq. L. XIV. c. 18. Hooke Vol. VIII. Appian L. IV. p. 625.

foes. Octavius and Antony, therefore, found it necessary, immediately to endeavour to check a torrent, which would, otherwise, overwhelm them. They collected their forces with the utmost activity, and encamped upon the plain of Philippi, within a mile of the republican chiefs. An engagement quickly followed. The liberty of Rome on the one side, and empire on the other, depended upon the event. The battle was fought accordingly. Success, however, continued a long time doubtful; but, at length, the triumvirate appeared victorious †. This advantage consummated their power †. They divided amongst their troops the spoils they had taken; and Antony and Octavius seized upon the government of nearly the whole empire*, for they had begun to consider the alliance of Lepidus, who, though ambitious, was impolitic and weak, as no longer necessary. And, now, with infinite regret, he saw the one || possess himself of the vast and opulent

† Vide Livy, L. CXXIV. Tac. Ann. I. 2.

† Valerius Paterculus, lib. II. c. 70, and Dion Cassius, lib. 47.

* Dio L. XLVIII. p. 358. Crev. Vol. X.

|| Antony.

countries

countries of the east, whilst the other† erected his sovereignty in the west § : and, after having become a traitor to assist the most ambitious of the Romans with his fortune and force, he was soon rewarded as a traitor deserved to be—with exile ¶.

At this period, Italy began to experience the sweets of tranquility. Octavius, who supported its government with equal prudence and resolution, had quelled those violent dissensions that originated in the factious disposition, or the distresses of the people ||. While he appeared as indulgent as the times required, he exhibited proofs of an unfailing intrepidity, and acted, in junctures the most perilous and delicate, with such political wisdom as naturally ensured success*. Nor was this all. He reformed the internal government of Rome †;

† Octavius.

§ Stackhouse, V. 5. p. 215.

¶ Vide Crev. Vol. X. Hooke Vol. VIII. Hist. Univers. Vol. XIII.

|| Vide Hooke, vol. VIII. Crev. vol. X.

* Macq. abridg. ad finem. Hist. Uni. vol. XIII. Hooke, vol. VIII. Crev. vol. X.

† Vell. II. 81. Crev. v. X.

administered

administered justice with an equal hand †; and, amongst those works of magnificence or utility which he carried on ¶, encouraged Agrippa, his faithful friend and adviser, to repair the antient aqueducts, which had fallen almost into ruin, and to build new ones of great importance and extent ||.

WHILE such conduct recommended him to the affections of the people, his own quiet was disturbed by a necessity of immediately preparing a fleet to chastise Sextus Pompeius *, one of the proscribed,

† Crev. vol. X. Hooke, vol. VIII.

¶ Suet. August. Crev. Cont. v. X.

|| Friensh. L. CXXXI. 51, 52. Macq. ad finem.

* Sextus was the son of Pompey the great, to whom he at once owed his honours and misfortunes. His birth was sufficient to excite the suspicions of Octavius; who, therefore, comprehended him in the number of Cæsar's assassins, and proscribed him amongst the rest. Thus forced into exile, he collected his partizans, and, possessing himself of Sicily, offered an asylum to those who experienced his own fate. Having greatly augmented his force, he continued, for a length of time, implacable in his enmity to Octavius, who, upon his being taken and put to death, (Vide Crevier, vol. X.) was left to contend for sole empire, with Antony alone. Un. Hist. vol. XIII. Hooke, vol. VIII.

who,

who, having collected a formidable armament, continued to make depredations on the Italian and Sicilian coasts. No time was lost. The Roman navy put to sea, but in the first engagement was worsted. Octavius felt the disappointment, but felt it like a man. Indeed, whatever some respectable historians have asserted as to his want of courage, his spirit was remarkable for its triumphs over adversity. Intimate though he was with misfortune, he never knew despondency: but, amidst the greatest losses, could still hope and still resolve to repair them. To this temper it was owing, that, when a violent tempest had frustrated a second well-laid scheme, by shattering another armament which he had prepared to act against Sextus, he exclaimed, "I will yet conquer in spite of Neptune †." Nor will his resolution appear less animated, if we follow him to the capital of the Japodes ‡, who had made incursions on the Roman territory ||. Here art and nature conspire with its warlike inhabitants in vain, to frustrate his wishes. That his soldiers may have an op-

† Hooke, v. VIII. Hist. Un. v. XIII. &c

‡ Metulum.

|| App. Illyr. Bell. Dio. Macq. &c.

portunity

portunity of close combat, he raises terraces and builds towers thereon, from which four bridges are at once thrown over to the wall of the enemy. Constructed as they were in a hurry, three of those bridges give way, as soon as pressed by the crouding multitude, nor are there any who will venture on the fourth, until Octavius, attended only by some officers, advances towards the wall. Encouraged by his example, so great a number immediately follow, that the bridge, unequal to the weight, breaks down, killing many and wounding more. Octavius, though greatly injured by the fall, immediately shews himself superior to the accident, and, with uncommon presence of mind, ascends to the top of a tower, from whence he presents himself to his friends and the enemy at the same time, to encourage the one and disappoint the expectations of the other †. Such gallantry of spirit reflected lustre upon his reputation, and ensured him the public applause. However, he was not yet content. He possessed not yet the empire of the world! For nothing less, indeed, was sufficiently ample for the scope of his ambition!

† Hooke, Vol. VIII.

BUT it was not long until he had an opportunity of enlarging his sphere of action, by removing the only obstacle to the gratification of his wishes. Antony, by the vicious meanness and unparalleled folly of his conduct, by the luxurious sensuality in which he lived *, and the alienation of some parts of the empire, which he made at the solicitation of the abandoned Cleopatra, had rendered himself an object of general contempt and detestation †. The Romans, exasperated almost to madness, were anxious for his destruction; and even those who had been his sincerest friends, exclaimed against him, and facilitated his ruin ‖. Octavius, under a pretext of avenging the insults offered to his sister, who was the wife of Antony, as well as preserving the unity of the empire from being sacrificed to Ægyptian depravity, but really to gratify his own

* Vide Strabo, L. XIV. Plut. in Ant. Dio. L. XLIX.

† Littleton Rom. Hist. Vol. I. Crev. Vol. X. Hist. Un. Vol. XIII. Prideaux's Connection, anno 30. Josephus Antiq. lib. 15, c. 4.

‖ Hist. Univers. v. XIII. p. 261, & 264.

inordinate

inordinate ambition †, prepared for war with sagacity and resolution *. Antony, still a slave to luxurious delight, beheld the gathering storm with indignation and dismay. But, while his fears excited him to collect forces, his sensuality forbade him to command them; he built fleets but to disgrace them by flight †. It is no wonder, therefore, that his affairs should fall into ruin ¶: that he should soon witness the total overthrow of his naval force at the battle of Actium ||, and, immediately afterwards, a ruinous desertion from his army, which despised him §. These important events fully fated the ambition of Octavius; who, until this period, it may be said, roved in a maze of difficulties, but, now, obtained the vista which opened to the prospect that consummated his hopes.

‡ Plutarch In vit. Anton. Prideaux's Connection, Anno 33.

* Crevier, Vol. X.

† Hooke, Vol. VIII. Crev. X. Macq. abridg. ad fin. Hist. Univers. Vol. XIII. Florus L. IV. &c.

¶ Stackhouse's Hist. Bible, Vol. V, b. 7, c. 5.

|| This battle has been celebrated by many of the Roman poets. Virg. Æne. VIII Ovid Metam. L. XV. Hor. Ep. 9. Propert. L. IV. Eleg. 6. Vide Stackhouse, Vol. V. p. 215.

§ Hist. Univers. Vol. XIII. Hooke, Vol. VIII. Crev. Vol. X.

AND, here, while justice obliges us to reprobate the principle of his past actions, we fancy, it is scarcely possible too much to admire the ingenuity with which he conducted them, whether he intended to profit by the hatred or friendship of Antony; the regard or opposition of the republic: for, it may be observed, that, from all these circumstances, he deduced an equality of advantage.

A GENIUS so fertile, and conduct so successful, established to him an universal reputation for political and military ability. Yet, though great the glory he had thus acquired, it fell far short of that which resulted from the temper of his future government. Having none to fear, and being happy in the possession of unlimited power, the tyrant, almost instantly, disappeared, and he became at once beneficent, moderate and humane †. Sensible of the distresses which arise from civil war, he sought to mitigate their power; and, therefore, forgiving the enmity of those who had been long averse from his inte-

† Stackhouse's History of the Bible, Vol. VI.

rests †, assisted indiscriminately the distressed provinces of the empire, by remitting those taxes which were found oppressive to the people ||.

SUCH generosity and prudence obliterated the memory of his former violence, and added lustre to the glory of those victories which had already obtained him the surname of Augustus *. Yet he was determined, by establishing the blessings of universal tranquility, to deserve still further applause. Wherefore, he directed his attention to the general happiness of the empire §. Ægypt, as the residence of fertility, demanded peculiar regard. Under a set of kings, in whom even neglect was a negative virtue, that nation had become effeminate and feeble †. Nevertheless, Augustus, by a timely interference, remedied those evils. He established a policy and gave vigour to laws, which, while

‡ Velleius II. 66 & 86. Dio. L. II. Macq. 458. Crev. Vol. X.

|| Crevier, Vol. X. Hooke, Vol. VIII.

* Dion Cassius, L. 3. p. 710.

§ Vide Gibbon's Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire, Vol. I. p. 194.

† Strabo, Crevier, &c.

they

they made property secure, restrained the oppressive and seditious †. He did more. He saw with astonishment, that those canals, which, by the labour of ages, had been opened from the Nile, and were of equal importance to the agriculture and commerce of the country, were choaked or otherwise rendered useless. To renew their former excellence required uncommon perseverance and skill. Augustus, however, undertook it with success, and even compleated new aqueducts no less important than extensive! † At the same time, by restoring its almost annihilated commerce, he rendered Alexandria, which he wisely considered as connecting the eastern and western empires, the mart and magazine of nations *.

HAVING thus restored its antient spirit of industry, to a nation lately immersed in sloth, Augustus hastened into Asia, to establish a government in those extensive territories, which had not as yet submitted to his laws. Nor was it long until his

† Dio. Strabo L. XVII. Suet. Aug. 66. Tac. Ann. II. 69.

† Crev. Vol. X.

* Vide Joseph. de Bell. Jud. II. 16. Crev. X.

justice and beneficence effected, what, by force, he would have attempted in vain. Animosities, which the intrigues of Antony and Cleopatra had excited, and evils which proceeded from civil wars, were appeased and overcome. Even the haughty Parthians, so long inveterate foes to the Roman name, were anxious that he should become a mediator, to unite the contending factions that distracted their empire †: nor did he fail, in a short time, with equal glory to himself and advantage to his government, to establish the happiest tranquility throughout all the provinces of Asia, which had been agitated by party commotion ‡.

THE Romans, who saw his conduct with delight, received him, upon his return to Italy, with transports of joy, and offered

† Justin L. XLIII. They were even compelled, (say Dion. Cassius, p. 736, and the Ancyrian marble upon which Augustus recorded the history of his own achievements) to restore the prisoners who yet lived, and were taken upon the defeat of Crassus, as well as the beloved eagles, those Deities of war, (Deos bellorum, in the words of Tacitus,) which the Romans were politically taught to reverence.

‡ Crev. Vol. X.

him

him the highest honours, from motives of honest veneration and esteem ||. At this time, two decrees of the senate reflected new lustre upon his character. By the first, the valves of the temple of Janus were ordered to be closed; a ceremony, which, on account of the continued wars of the republic, had been performed but five times since the foundation of Rome §. Augustus felt the honour of this decree in its full force; nor was it received by the people with less satisfaction, who considered it as a token that their contentions and warfare were at an end. The second decree was equally flattering to his wishes, as it revived that pacific festival called the "augur of safety;" a festival which could be celebrated only on a day of perfect tranquility, when not even the apprehen-

|| Crev. Vol. X. Horace elegantly alludes to the honours he received. Ode IV. 5.

§ "The first time," (says Mr. Stackhouse, History of the Bible, V. 5. B. 7. C. 5. p. 173.) "was in the reign of Numa; the second, after the end of the first Punic war; the third, after Augustus's victory over Anthony and Cleopatra; the fourth, upon his return from the Cantabrian war in Spain; and the fifth, now, in the twenty-sixth year of his reign."

fions

sions of war subsisted, and which declared him to be the saviour of the republic! A glorious appellation indeed, of which he appeared deserving *. For scarcely had he reposed after his return from establishing the tranquility of the provinces, when he laboured to encourage the general commerce and agriculture of the state; engaged in public buildings of magnificence and utility †; and, anxious at once to unite justice and liberality, proceeded to reimburse the common people such sums of money as they had formerly advanced him, as well as to remit the numerous taxes that remained unpaid ||.

ALTHOUGH he had effected thus much, he considered himself as bound to do more. By encreasing the funds, and, at the same

* This encomium was passed upon him by the following inscription dated in his 5th consulship.
 “ Senatus, populusque, Romanus, Imp. Cæsari,
 “ Divi Juli. F. Cof. Quinct. Cof. Design. Sext. Imp.
 “ Sept. Republica. Conservata. Signem. Common.
 “ in Fastos.

† Sueton. in Aug. c. 28. Augustus built in Rome the forum and temple of Mars the Avenger; the temple of Jupiter Tonans, and of Apollo Palatine; together with several libraries, the basilica and portico of Caius and Lucius, the theatre of Marcellus, and the porticoes of Livia and Octavia.

|| Hist. Univers. Vol. XIII.

time,

time, reducing the interest of money, from an exorbitant to a moderate rate, he gave permanency to public credit, and extension to trade. Every particular, indeed, that was likely to prove of service to the state, participated his attention. Hence his successful efforts to restore the antient severity of martial discipline †; his happy attempt to reduce the price of provisions; his commendable resolution to recompense, by liberal donations, such necessitous magistrates, as gave up from their private concerns, so much of their time as was necessary for a becoming discharge of the duties of their station; his reform of many antient laws; his publication of others of importance; his steady and becoming regard to the proceedings of the courts of judicature; his equitable regulation of the senate, which had become infamous ‖; and, in a word, his strict and impartial attention to the several governments of an almost boundless empire §.

† Vide Sueton. in Aug. c. 25.

‖ Vide Dion Cassius, L. 3, p. 693. Suetonius in August. c. 55.

§ Vide Hist. Uni. Vol. XIII.

THESE were circumstances of substantial glory to the king, and to the patriot! But these were not all. He distributed immense sums amongst the lower class of citizens, to encourage their industry; and even the children of the indigent experienced his bounty*. The soldiery, too, were individually rewarded beyond their expectations; and the several towns in Italy, which had been injured by the civil wars, were either recompensed or indulged†. Appearances declare this liberality, the honest effusion of a heart solicitous to atone for former depravity and excess. As such, it secured to him the applause of mankind, together with the cordial affection of his happy subjects, who looked upon him as the hero who conquered but to bless! His usurpation was, now, forgotten; or, if remembered, the people considered it as a new epoch of the liberty of Rome. They saw, indeed, that, as a commonwealth, they had lost their rights; but, as men, were liberated by one arbitrary act, from the persisting tyranny of various factions, and the griev-

* Crevier Contin. Roll. Vol. X.

† Idem. Ibid.

ous calamities of protracted war *. Where parties had subsisted, friendships were formed; and, in the stead of tumult and want, peace and plenty appeared as heralds of the reign of Augustus †.

It were to be wished that circumstances of the like benevolent nature had ennobled the government of Lewis; but truth compels us to observe, that, from the death of Mazarine, who, like his predecessor in office, had governed with success for himself but not for the nation, which was now, less powerful than Henry the fourth had left it, he became as remarkable for an enthusiastic ambition, as he had formerly been for indolence and pleasurable excess. Determined to govern without any restraint, the tyrannical maxims of Richelieu became his study, and formed his political creed. From violence he proceeded to violence, until he established, effectually, what he had but attempted

* Vide Macrob. sat. Univers. Hist. V. XIII. Stackhouse Hist. Bible V. VI.

† Vide Tacitus. Annal.

to establish in the year 1655 *—his own will as the first law of the state †. To any other than our imperious Frenchman, such rashness would, probably, have been fatal. But he found security in the promptitude of his action: for, had he not executed on the moment that he planned, had the evil been suspected before it was completed, he would not have dared to attempt an outrage, which proved fatal to the internal security of the kingdom.

EVERY barrier, which the wisdom of former times had erected to prevent the prince from encroaching on the rights of the subject, being thus broken down, it was natural that his pride should direct him to a reform of the revenue, which was in a state of confusion, and of the army, which was licentious and incomplete §. Nor was it long until, by the aid of the illustrious Colbert, who, as

* At that time, he entered the chamber of parliament, in a hunting dress, and, in an angry tone of despotic pre-eminence, ordered them to disperse—His orders were obeyed! Millot Hist. France.

† Voltaire's "Age of Lewis." V. I.

§ Voltaire Vol. I.

comptroller

comptroller general of the finances, reformed the abuses which his predecessor had committed, diminished the taxes and rendered commerce a source of abundant wealth *, he became enabled to gratify his wishes in these respects. His power, in consequence, acquired a growth so sudden and exorbitant, as rendered it no less alarming to the several states of Europe, than it was flattering to his own vanity †. Pre-eminence was, now, so much the darling object of his wishes, that, even before he was prepared to attempt establishing it by force of arms, he suffered no opportunity, however trivial, to escape of asserting it. Hence the demeaning acknowledgments of inferiority which Spain was compelled to make §, and the

* In zeal, ability, industry, and integrity, he was another Sully, who did honour to the choice of his royal master, by serving the nation with as much earnestness, as Mazarine had oppressed it.

† Vide Hume's Hist. Eng. Smollet's Hist. Eng. &c.

§ The Spanish ambassador, having disputed precedence at the court of London, Lewis was so much irritated, that he threatened to take up arms against his father-in-law Philip the fourth, if atonement was not made for the insult. This threat operated, and Spain preferred a submission accordingly. Millot Vol. II. p. 224. Volt. Vol. I. p. 101. Dub. Ed. translation.

humiliating

humiliating concessions to which even the papal power was unjustly reduced ||.

SUCH a procedure could not fail of awakening every suspicion of the neighbouring states; and, indeed, Lewis wished for nothing so much as a favourable opportunity of convincing them that their suspicions were well founded. The system he had newly adopted of maintaining numerous standing armies, operated as a general tax upon each. Their safety required they should arm as he had done, and their consequent additional expence became prodigious. In England, the navy and some other particulars, which had been formerly maintained at the easy charge of eighty thousand pounds annually, became, now, a tax upon the public of at least ten times

|| A servant of the French ambassador, having violently assaulted the body guard in Rome, they surrounded the hotel of that minister, and put some of his domestics to death. Lewis resented the affair in so serious a manner, that Pope Alexander was reduced to the necessity of sending his nephew to solicit pardon, of cashiering the guard, and of raising an obelisk in memory of the event. Millot. Voltaire, &c.

that

that sum. Nor was this encrease of force to be considered as an augmentation of national advantage; for, comparatively speaking, a few men, heretofore, were of as much use as many now. Thus the evils which arose from this particular of his policy, were not confined to France. They extended, in some measure, to all ranks in the surrounding states.

HIS ability for private intrigue and negotiation was not less productive of complaint at this period. He studied the wants of others, to learn the mode of making his applications successful. Hence the prodigal and necessitous Charles was seduced, by four hundred thousand pounds, to alienate Dunkirk, which Lewis soon rendered as important to France, as it became formidable to England||. This was an extravagant but necessary purchase, for, now, he saw how requisite it was to the accomplishment of his schemes for acquiring maritime power. England and Holland, as holding the empire of the sea, were objects of his jealousy; yet, secretly delighted though he was to behold these rivals in

|| Millot. Volt. Hume. Smollet, &c.

commerce and naval glory, endeavour to effect the destruction of each other, he politically leagued himself with the latter, during the first war of Charles II.†, and, to encrease the inveteracy of the discension rather than support an ally, sent a fleet of forty sail, which, however, but barely appeared in support of the Dutch, after the memorable defeat of Ruyter by the duke of Albemarle ||. The ruinous consequences of this war, felt alike by the two powers, induced them, in a short time, to hasten an accommodation, which was accordingly concluded by the treaty of Breda. That treaty was the prelude to another of more importance. It was immediately followed by the triple alliance ‡, which the violent measures of Lewis not only recommended, but rendered absolutely requisite.

† This war, which was disgraceful to England, is a proof of the unsteadiness of Charles; who, urged by his brother the Duke of York, from a religious animosity to a protestant people, gave orders for the commencement of hostilities upon the Dutch, which were immediately followed by reprisals.

|| Voltaire, Vol. II.

‡ Of England, Holland, and Sweden.

E

ENGROSSED

ENGROSSED as was the Frenchman by his visionary scheme of unlimited conquest, and sensible of the superiority of his own military strength, it would have been wonderful indeed, had he overlooked the opportunity which the present situation of Europe afforded for putting that scheme into execution. Germany had been recently harrassed by the Turk; Spain had sunk into meanness under the government of the feeble and indolent Philip; and England and Holland had not yet recovered from their late contention. Far from suffering this seemingly propitious æra to escape, he proceeded to the necessary practice of a species of political ingenuity, which had been often used by such adventurers as himself, and has been revived to distinguish the annals of seventeen hundred and seventy-nine. Being in want of pretexts to warrant the exercise of his ambitious designs, he invented them. A claim to Flanders, through which he intended to open to his armies an easy communication with Holland and Germany, was immediately instituted, in right of his wife, who but some time before had formally renounced all pretensions to that province. Whatever validity was wanting in the
opinion

opinion of Europe to this claim, he was enabled to give it by parading at the head of an army, and over-running that wretched province of an already depopulated kingdom, together with Franche Comté, which he considered as an acquisition of importance ||. Resistance scarcely indulged him with an opportunity of boasting a triumph. His victory at best was over the fallen; yet, though this was the case; though he was supported by numerous and well-disciplined troops, who were provided with regular magazines, which, till about this period, were unknown to the military; and though he was assisted by the advice of Turenne, one of the ablest generals of the age, so mean is the temper of ambition at times, that he exulted in the acquisitions thus made, and suffered his hopes to encrease on account of his puny conquests †. His assumed pre-eminence was, now, as provoking to England, as his approaches on

|| Voltaire. Millot, &c.

† Millot endeavours to give an air of consequence to these events, although obliged to confess, in the recital, that Louvois, minister of the war department, had "made all the difficulties of conquest easy;" and, that, in some places, Lewis even "found traytors, whom the French money had power to corrupt." Millot, Vol. II. p. 236.

the side of Holland were alarming to the states. Wherefore, Charles, as much, we believe, with a view of reinstating himself in the good opinion of his people, which, in a great measure, he had alienated by the infamous sale of Dunkirk, as from any other motive, projected the alliance which has been already mentioned. The illustrious Temple, who made politics a science worthy the philosopher and statesman, was sent to conclude it at the Hague; where, in the person of De Wit, he found he had to treat with a patriot, whose liberality of sentiment was perfectly congenial with his own. The projected treaty, which was of importance to all Europe, was soon ratified at Aix la Chapelle †, and, for the present, put an end to the usurpations of Lewis; who, however, having restored Franche Comté to the Spaniard, retained his conquests in the Low-Countries ‖, and sat down determined to use the first opportunity of avenging himself upon the states, for the opposition they had given to his enterprizes.

† Millot's Elem. Hist. Fr. Vol. II.

‖ Voltaire's Age of Lewis, Vol. I.

FOR the tranquility, which France derived from this event, nothing was due to Lewis, who complied with the terms of accommodation from motives of necessity alone. His ministers, however, were not tinctured with knight-errantry. Far from lamenting the return of peace, they employed the opportunity it gave them, of attending to the restoration of commerce. And, so successful were their endeavours, that, in a short time, the sea-ports were crowded with ships, and the trade of the nation was extended as well to America as to the East Indies, and the African coast *. Wealth, now, flowed into the treasury from a thousand channels ; and Lewis, being enabled to establish such a navy as might dispute the empire of the sea, determined to indulge his ambition with a new career. His design of subjugating Holland, which, by its conquests, its settlements in the east, its fleet, but, above all, its industry, frugality and commerce, had become respectable, was not forgotten. Wherefore, pursuing that kind of selfish policy, which had often actuated the republic, he privately leagued himself with

* Voltaire, Vol. I.

Charles of England ; with the suspicious and suspected, the volatile, fluctuating and irresolute Charles, who deceived his parliament upon this occasion : and, having seduced Sweden to renounce the tripple league, he declared war, without being able or inclined to alledge any other cause for his conduct, but his displeasure against the states.

AND, now, followed by his brother and by Condé, by Turenne, Luxembourg, Vouban and Louvois, he proceeded at the head of two hundred thousand men, to reduce a little republic||. With scarce any opposition, he secured a safe passage over the Rhine *, and made a rapid progress into the Low Countries. At his approach, many towns opened their gates to receive him: and even Amsterdam began to tremble for her fate †. The states, alarmed as they

|| Voltaire Vol. I.

* Vide Pellisson's letters. The vanity of some French historians has represented this safe and easy action, as really brilliant. Dry and warm weather having prevailed for some time, part of the river became fordable; nor was the resistance of the enemy of any consequence. See Voltaire Vol. I. &c.

† Millot, speaking of this campaign, says, " that far from affecting moderation Lewis rather chose to make his
" greatness

they were, applied for peace; but the terms proposed by the conqueror were such as a free people, however reduced, must have rejected with disdain.—Though their fleet had to contend with the navies of England and France, and though the army of Lewis was every where triumphant, they still dared to hope, and resolved to try the last expedient for relief. They flung open the gates of the dykes which shut out the sea, and exposed themselves to a calamitous inundation, to stop the progress of their foe.

At this awful crisis, † the prince of Orange, stimulated by principles of the most benevolent patriotism, appeared as the defender of his country; and, notwithstanding his troops were few and badly disciplined *, by a series of glorious actions, rendered still more effectual by the co-operation of the Emperor and Spain

“ greatness conspicuous, by a terrible vengeance.” This however, we apprehend, is by no means the character of a hero.

† Vide Prior's *Posth. Works*. Vol. I. p. 3. Dub. Ed.

* They were new levies; and even the French accounts make their number but 25,000—What cannot a love of country effect!

who

who leagued against Lewis, † compelled, in a short time, that imaginary monarch of Europe, flushed though he had been by the subduction of three provinces, to abandon his conquests, and terminate the campaign in a manner more inglorious, if possible, than he began it ||. However, although his career was thus retarded, he was not humbled, for, shortly afterwards, he engaged with all his enemies at once, and, by his policy, which won over many, and his resolution which intimidated more, kept Europe in suspense. ‡

† Charles was soon afterwards necessitated by his Parliament to make a peace with Holland. Hume. Smollet. &c.

|| Temple. Harris. &c. It is very observable, that patriotism and valour, so worthy every mark of distinction that the historian can bestow, have been scarcely mentioned by many eminent French annalists, who have treated of those times. Millot, ready as he is to enlarge upon every skirmish on the part of France, has noticed them not ! and Voltaire, notwithstanding his pretensions to historical candour, has given them but little attention. Such glaring partiality can be attributed but to two causes ; a jealousy of a character which realized all that they can fancy of their Henry's and Lewis's, or a bigotted enmity, which has extended itself even to the memory of the inflexible champion of justice and the protestant religion.

‡ Millot. Voltaire.

As

AT this period, his navy under the celebrated Du Quisne swept the seas, having thrice defeated the united fleets of Spain and Holland *, the latter of whom was particularly unfortunate in the loss of the illustrious Ruyter, whom merit had exalted from the lowest station ||. Those victories were memorable, and scarcely to be hoped for by France. But Lewis had, now, the happiness of being served by men as able as they were spirited, and was accordingly successful in enterprizes which his predecessors dared not attempt. Yet, after all, hereaped no lasting advantages from this success. Conquests, such as he had obtained, were the purchase of immense treasures, the supply of which reduced France almost to bankruptcy †. A melancholy circumstance! even had an extensive encrease of territory been secured; but peculiarly so, since, after fomenting troubles in Hungary, after having seduced the Turks into the Empire, and apparently opposed them that he might more safely promote his designs ‡, after
 having

* Campbell's Lives of the Admir. Vol. III. &c.

|| Millot. Vol. II.

† Vide Voltaire Vol. I.

‡ On the arrival of the Ottoman troops in Germany,
 Lewis

having exerted his whole art, influence and power, to maintain this romantic war, Lewis was compelled to renounce enterprises so vainly commenced; to consent on a sudden to a treaty of peace, and to sit down with the acquisition of little more than nominal victories, by which, indeed, he acquired from his grateful countrymen the surname of Grand. †

THIS peace, however, did not prevent him from meditating to enlarge his dominions; for no sooner had the allies, confiding in the faith of treaties, disbanded their troops, than he established two chambers, under pretence of enquiring after some antient dependencies of France, and of reuniting them to the crown ‡. On this score, the elector Palatine and the elector of Treves, who had been of the alliance, were basely stript of many seignories; Alsace, in a great measure, was spoiled of its privileges, and the town of Alost and its Bailiwick in the low countries, were usurped by Lewis.

Lewis, to avoid the disgrace of appearing leagued with a Mahometan, sent a small army pretendedly to check their progress.

† Voltaire Vol. I.

‡ Millot. Voltaire, &c.

Events so disgraceful to human nature, attest his treachery; which, however, did not appear in its true extent of deformity, until, by the revocation of the edict of Nantz *, which Henry the fourth had wisely granted, and his successor confirmed, he let bigotted persecution loose, to enjoy the demolition of churches, to riot in the blood of unoffending citizens, and, in all the fervour of charity, to tear infants from the arms of their mothers, that they might be educated in the catholic faith! An outrage so general, and executed with unabating zeal, operated as might have been expected. Those who escaped the dragoonade thought only of flight. Local attachment, the ties of consanguinity, the force of interest, nay the dread of an unfeeling military who crowded the coasts, and frontiers, had no longer a power to prevent it †. The Hugonots emigrated in multitudes. England, Holland, and Germany opened their arms in charity to the strangers, whose arts and industry rewarded the deed of mercy ‡.

* Vide Dalrymple's Mem. Vol. II. Lond. Ed. 4to.

† Vide Seckend's Hist. Luth. L. XI. p. 116. Voltaire Vol. II. Millot Vol. II. Hume's Hist. Eng. Smollet, &c.

‡ Rapin. Hume. Smollet. Millot. Voltaire. Seckend. Hist. Luther. &c.

THIS nefarious policy of Lewis, if it may be called policy, was reprobated throughout Europe. But he was determined, when he went about it, "to signalize his zeal for the catholic religion, by giving" at once "a mortal wound to Calvinism *"—It was a wound, indeed, which will bleed for ever to his disgrace! Nor did his crime fail to bring his punishment: for, in the course of a few years, he saw that he had for ever deprived France of more than five hundred thousand peaceable citizens*, with their wealth which was immense, and their arts and industry which were of greater value.

BIGOTTED as Lewis was, this calamitous event would probably, never have happened, had Colbert been alive. That honest and sagacious minister, whose generous endeavours recovered France from the ruinous state to which the avariciousness of Mazarine, and the profusion of the then superintendant of the finances, Fouquet, had reduced it, saw the prudence of protecting so numerous, peacea-

* Millot has thus expressed himself. Vol. II. Elem. Hist. France.

† Some say 800,000.

ble, and industrious a body of citizens. Indeed, the loss of his services was as fatal to the prosperity of France, as the death of Luxembourg seemed, shortly afterwards, to the military reputation of Lewis.

YET, during those times of persecution, it is said *, he was at the height of his glory! It is true, he had offended, despoiled, or humbled the several princes of Europe. He maintained a powerful navy. He held veteran armies at command. But the enemies his restless ambition created, during this interval of peace, were as numerous as they were determined. England and Germany, together with Spain and Holland, united in the firmest league to check his career. Even the pope, Innocent XI. not more remarkable for meekness than was Lewis himself, endeavoured, without acting in immediate concert with the prince of Orange, to favour the schemes of that champion of protestantism, for the humiliation of the most christian king ‖. Hostilities, therefore, were renewed; and, in a short time, the greater

* Vide Voltaire's Age of Lewis XIVth.

‖ Voltaire. Millot.

part of Europe became the vast theatre of military operations †.

BUT, though the armies of Lewis were beset on all sides, they were often successful. Victories, however, became their disgrace. Having subdued the Palatinate, where no tokens were, now, to be seen, of that tremendous conflagration, which, in compliance with his instructions*, Turenne had ordered upon a former occasion, Lewis, following the counsels of the unfeeling Louvois, who had an active part in the persecution of the hugonots, issued his commands, that the like mode of devastation should be again practised in that delightful country. The soldiers, as rapacious for plunder, as they were extravagant in their cruelties, faithfully complied with his will. Palaces, villages, cities, were instantly set in flames; nay, sacred places, places of sepulture of the electors Palatine, were ransacked for treasure by those military ruffians, who scattered the ashes of the dead to the wind! ‡

† The Low Countries, Germany, the frontiers of Spain and Italy, England and Ireland.

* Voltaire Vol. I. Millot Vol. II.

‡ Millot. Voltaire, &c.

To have authoris'd such conduct was as impolitic as it was base. France was surrounded by enemies. Several of her rich provinces were, in a great measure, expos'd to invasion §; and, had that happened, could it be expected but an enemy so justly incens'd would practice the severity of retaliation? Lewis, however, was too vehement, at times, to reflect, and too anxious for obtaining the purposes of war, to make a scruple of endeavouring to conquer by cruelty whom he could not subdue by force.

BUT such violences served only to quicken the resentment of his enemies; who, headed as they were by the sagacious William, and accustomed to plan with prudence and execute with activity, were so far from finding him invincible, that they were generally enabled to render even his best victories of little avail *. Though many were his conquests in the Low Countries, in Spain, and even America, where the Spaniard was deprived of Carthagera with nearly twenty millions of money; the loss of a great part of his

§ Voltaire, &c.

* Hume. Rapin. Smollet. Millot. Voltaire, &c.
marine

marine after the battle of La Hogue; the death of Luxembourg which proved fatal to his success in Flanders; the triumph of king William in the reduction of Namure; and the spirit of the English in their several bombardments of Dieppe, Le Havre, St. Maloes, Calais and Dunkirk †, were so sensibly felt, that the courage of France began to droop accordingly. Recruits could not, now, be had to support her decreasing armies: those internal resources which had been formerly boasted as inexhaustible were cut off; and the aids which commerce afforded from abroad, were precarious and unimportant. Having thus become incapable of opposing his enemies, from a consciousness of his imbecility, rather than from the influence of virtuous sentiments †, Lewis accepted a peace as discreditable as disadvantageous. He renounced all those late acquisitions which had been purchased at the expence of so much blood and treasure, and even consented to acknowledge William the third, as lawful king of England ||.

† Vide Campbell's Lives of the Admirals. Smollet. Hume, &c.

† Which Voltaire insinuates.

|| Voltaire. Millot. Prior's Posth. Works, Vol. I.

WAR had now a pause *. Though short, it was contradictory, if events have any expression, to the temper of Europe. Charles of Spain had long laboured under a complication of disorders. His death was daily expected, and that circumstance was to unite his kingdoms to the territories of Lewis, or of the emperor Leopald. The idea of such an accession of property to either of those potentates, could not fail of alarming all the other princes of Europe. They well knew it would totally destroy the balance of power, and, consequently, render their freedom and possessions insecure. They took their resolutions accordingly. A partition treaty, suggested and promoted by the king of England †, was immediately concluded. Lewis, who, feeble as he was, could not hope to prevail over his rival Leopald by exhibiting the claim of nearest heirship, seemed satisfied with its decisions, especially as they allotted him for a casual addition to his empire, a certain and extensive one §.

* Vide Cole's Memoirs, p. 29, &c.

† Harris. Hume, &c.

§ Vide Voltaire. Millot.

AT this critical period, Charles, who lay at the point of death, and had been a long time doubtful to whom he should bequeath his dominions, was biassed in favour of his most christian majesty by the appearance of a French army on the frontiers of Spain, and declared the duke of Anjou, second son of the deceased dauphin, for his heir *. This event rendered the treaty so lately ratified, no longer efficacious in the mind of Lewis; who, now, exerted every nerve to defend his claim, though opposed by one half of Europe. Nay, so impolitic was he, that, at this important crisis, when it behoved him to cultivate the friendship of even the meanest states, he dared, at the instance of two suppliant women †, though in direct opposition to the opinion of his council, to provoke the spirit of England, already sufficiently dissatisfied with his conduct respecting Spain, by acknowledging the son of the expelled James, as king of Great Britain. War being, now, declared, he had to cope at once with the united

* Millot Vol. II. Voltaire Vol. I.

† Madame Maintenon and the widow of the deceased James.

Holland.

powers of Germany, Italy, England and Holland. Nevertheless, he was frequently victorious, and continued the contest with inflexible spirit, so long as any resources remained for carrying it on *. These at length being exhausted, his character sunk abroad, while the odium of the people encreased at home †. And, now, no longer the idol of a numerous and powerful nation, but the reduced slave of disappointed pride; he was compelled, from a view to the safety even of his own kingdom, to purchase peace by surrendering to his enemies whatever they pleased to demand ‡.

THIS unfortunate war was conducted from its commencement with fatal imprudence. Recruits were not levied with vigour: the arms were badly fabricated: the magazines were scandalously neglected: honours and military rewards were lavished with inconsiderate profusion ||: and, to con-

* The finances, about this time, were so exhausted, and public credit was so very low, that mint-bills bore the enormous discount of 30 or 40 per cent. Campbell's Lives Adm. Vol. III.

† Millot.

‡ Vide Voltaire. Millot. Hume, &c.

|| Vide Voltaire, Vol. I.

summate the shame of administration, the navy was suffered to decline even below imbecility *. Nor were these the only errors of government. Commerce, which, while cherished by Colbert, had transmitted the riches of the east and of the west into the treasury of France, was almost totally unattended to ; and agriculture, of still more importance to the nation, was criminally neglected. The capitation established in sixteen hundred and ninety five ; the tenth imposition of seventeen hundred and ten ; the enormous taxes which daily accumulated, and the enhancing the value of the coin †, all tended to promote the wretchedness and discontent of the people, and were the consequences of that luxurious sensuality which disgraced the court of Lewis ; and of wars which will be ever remembered as the strongest satires on the folly of pride.

YET, during his reign, marked as it was by such grievous errors, the laws of France were considerably improved ; the practice

* Father Daniel, in his history de la Milice Française, has given an ingenious account of the state of the navy during this reign, which sometimes is as honourable, as at others it is disgraceful to Lewis.

† Vide Millot. Voltaire, &c.

in the courts of justice was reformed by the celebrated ordinance of sixteen hundred and sixty seven, which established an uniformity of proceeding through them all; the military art, so fatal, yet so necessary to nations, was advanced towards perfection; an East India company was established; Paris became remarkable for its magnificence and orderly police; every charm that expence could force from nature, was, perhaps idly, exhibited at Versailles; the noble canal of Languedoc, which joins the two seas, was begun and continued †, and, which reflected more lustre upon the character of Lewis than all his victories, the foundation of the invalids, and the establishment of St. Cyr, for the education of two hundred and fifty reduced ladies, were compleated *.

CONSTANTLY engaged, however, though he was in affairs of war, or in carrying on works of public ornament or use, he omitted no opportunity of giving a polish to the manners of his people. Under Henry III. the French began their progress towards

Of the manners of the times, as influenced by their government.

† Vide Millot, Vol. II. Voltaire, vol. I. & II.

* Maintenon's Letters. Voltaire. Millot, &c.

true

true politeness ||, which was accelerated by the assistance of his elegant successor †. Anne of Austria § encouraged them still further. She introduced a delicacy, softness, and animated freedom into her court, which were strikingly singular. By these means, Lewis became sovereign of a people, in a great measure refined. He sought, however, to heighten the national elegance still more, by supporting the representation of dramatic entertainments; by encouraging gallantry of not the least criminal kind, and by an attention to every thing that was gay or magnificent. His conduct almost effectually destroyed the remains of antient barbarism, which seemed, now, like the ruin of a Gothic temple, too gloomy to please. But he did not rest here. From a desire of extinguishing that enthusiastic spirit, which had become so much the characteristic of his nobles, and had formerly actuated the Goths and Vandals; he published an edict which declared duelling a capital crime.

|| De Retz's Memoirs, Vol. I. Dub. ed. trans.

† Henry IV.

§ Mother of Louis XIV.

NEVERTHELESS, his people, with respect to their manners, were by no means softened as they should have been, by the gracious influence of humanity. On the contrary, we behold them with astonishment, however refined in some respects, intolerant and delighting in deeds of persecution; we lament that their narrowness of soul, contradicting an appearance of urbanity, forbids admittance to those manly ideas which militate against bigotry and unnecessary restraint; and, with horror, we see their armies degenerating from a love of warfare to that of depredation, from a love of martial glory to that of bloodshed. Indeed, whatever taste, whatever elegance of manners Lewis may have promoted, his merits are, notwithstanding, of the negative kind. It is not, surely, enough that a sovereign has sacrificed at the shrine of politeness, since policy and humanity should urge him, with equal force, to encourage the nation, by example, to resort to the temple of virtue.

FAR different was the procedure of Augustus. He introduced an elegance which was suited to a feeling heart; and introduced it in the place of comparative rudeness and

and barbarity. To effect a national improvement which demanded no less taste than perseverance, will, even upon a superficial view, be considered as worthy of his genius. But the merit of his conduct, on this occasion, can be sufficiently comprehended, only by taking a retrospect of the progress of manners amongst his countrymen. At first, nothing better than a gang of banditti, delighting in spoil and plunder, their enterprises were bold, and their actions as daring. But, incessantly stimulated as they were, by a spirit of pride, which was coeval with their government, and which induced them, from its earliest data, to look to the establishment of freedom at home, and of dominion abroad; and learning at length, to conduct their designs with a degree of order and even of dignity, they soon acquired a character in the opinion of the world, as an association of warriors, the disgrace of whose depredations was done away by the softer name of conquest. Every acquisition of territory, now proved an incentive to their ambition; and ambition as constantly excited them to extend it. Hence it was, that they exercised only those rougher virtues, which proved fatal
to

to the furrounding nations* ; and hence originated those bold designs and heroic actions, which enabled them to crown their victories with the subduction of Carthage, of Greece, and of the world!

THUS enamoured of warfare, and engaged therein, they had as little opportunity as desire to cultivate the delicacies of civilization. Besides, the whole policy of their government, which taught them to despise those nations they had subdued, united with their ruling passion, to retard the reformation of manners. Fearful of encouraging luxury by adopting foreign customs, they rejected the solicitation even of foreign virtues. Educated amidst hardships, to nerve them for the military life, and fully gratified with the delights which warfare afforded, they chearfully resigned the cultivation of the arts, to aliens or to slaves †. Nor was their private more polished than their civil life. Accustomed to triumph over the subjugated abroad, they were little less than tyrants at home; where, even in the persons of their offspring,

* Montesquieu Conf. Rom. Peo. Joseph. De Bello. Jud. L. II.

† Vertot. Rom. Revol.

they

they were wont to trespass upon the dearest rights of humanity *. If we look to their public ceremonies, do they not militate against every tender feeling of the heart? Are they not repugnant to modesty? Are they not inconsistent with every sentiment of benevolence, with every exalted wish of generosity? Can we approve of those contests in which human nature was debased by conflicting with beasts, or of the unmanly combats of their gladiators, or of their gloomy sacrifices ||? Yet have their most celebrated writers given us many and melancholy details of all these, without reflecting that they were to appear, to the eye of futurity, as memorials of disgrace. In fact, the Romans, under the republic, were, in a great measure, illiterate though politically wise; unpolished though really consequential; and, however anxious to be characterized as merciful and just, unhappily eager to gather those laurels which humanity had moistened with tears.

To conquer this national temper, a temper as unpropitious to the elegancies,

* Montesquieu *Con. Rom. Peo.*

|| See Kennet's *Rom. Antiq. &c.*

as it was to the real comforts of life, as generally cherished as all the bigotry of fashion could make it, and as strong as it could be from the influence of ages, was an action superlatively glorious! It was an action of the most enviable immortality to the patriot, and was atchieved by Augustus with delight. Having firmly established the tranquility of his empire, he encouraged a love of peace amongst his countrymen. The offspring of this affection was a love of science, and science soon overcame that ferocity of soul which taught the Romans to behold the property of strangers as the only object worthy their attention.

AUGUSTUS marked their progress towards urbanity with joy, and determined, if possible, to render them not less eminent for their private than for their public virtues. The Julian law, which was an early consequence of this generous resolution, was as wise in a political as in a moral sense *: for, by discouraging celibacy, it tended to enforce the practice of those graceful duties which are the em-

* Stackhouse Vol. 6. B. 8. c. 5.

bellishment

bellishment and blessing of life ||. While the social virtues were thus cherished by his care, a reform of the public amusements spoke its influence also †. Those horrid ceremonies and shews, which formerly delighted the multitude, were, almost entirely, abolished, and others, as commendable for their decency as they were alluring from their splendor, received his support †. Nor, amongst these, did he fail to direct peculiar attention to the amusements of the theatre, which, in a short time, became a school of morality and politeness. By such conduct, Augustus perfected his reputation, and rendered the Roman name as explanatory of elegance and understanding, as it had formerly been of terror and dismay.

Of their encouragement of literature.

NOR does he deserve less applause for his attachment to the interests of literature, which he considered as connected, in a great measure, with those of virtue. On his accession to power, Rome became indebted to him for a magnificent library, and judges were appointed to pronounce

|| Vide Hist. Univerf. Vol. XIII.

† Idem. Ibid. Crevier.

‡ Crev. Con. Roll. Vol. X. Hist. Un. Vol. XIII.
upon

upon the merits of new works of poetry, that those which deserved, might be transmitted to posterity, with every testimonial of honour ||. An encouragement so singular was productive of the noblest effects. Emulation invigorated genius, whose works at once appeared in all the perfection of maturity. But Augustus did not restrain his favour to those who cultivated the elder science. The orator and the historian were equally certain of his regard †. Nay, so uncommonly great was his respect for ingenuity, that he not only pardoned but was even liberal to enemies, for the sake of their literary abilities §. He disclaimed every cause of hatred to genius, and cherished it wherever it was to be found. Indeed, his endeavours were to be equalled but by his success; and that was so full and complete, that he had the happiness of seeing the standard of good-taste established, and, Italy, now all

|| Crev. Cont. Roll. Vol. X. p. 167.

† Velleius II. 81. Suet. Aug. XIX. 72. Crev. Con. Roll. X.

§ Horace and Pollio, though they had both opposed him, partook of his favour; and, on account of the merits of Areus the philosopher, he forbore punishing the Alexandrians, who had obstinately continued to assist Antony. Crevier Vol. X.

accom-

accomplished, aspire to more than the rivalship of Greece.

LEWIS, on the other hand, in his endeavours for the advancement of letters, was, perhaps, as fortunate, though less glorious. During his administration the cloud of Gothic ignorance was entirely dissipated; taste appeared in the stead of pedantry, and genius disgraced affectation. Philosophy, too, who had been long cloistered with the monks, or enslaved by an inquisition, assumed her native charms: her laws were published; were expounded; were understood. Lewis, thus rendered the admiration and envy of Europe, was universally regarded as the promoter of one of the grandest revolutions in the intellectual world. Yet the more applauded he deserves to be on this account, the more we lament that even the most exalted ability could not always secure his favour. He suffered the elegant Fontaine to pass his life in wretched obscurity, because his merits were not adapted to the temper of a court; and he scandalously disgraced St. Evremond, and the illustrious Fenelon, the former for an innocent piece of political raillery, and the latter for exhibiting
to

to the world an unlicensed poem, which will ever be considered a glorious monument of human ingenuity †.

AN attachment to justice, which excited these remarks, compels us, likewise, to observe, that Lewis, as an orator, was by no means perfect. His discourses were too vehement to captivate, and too irregular, in general, to establish information. At times, indeed, he was master of that bold language which seizes attention; but the insinuating graces which reach the heart, or the powers of persuasion which are welcomed by the judgment, were never his.

Of their eloquence.

WHEREAS Augustus, though not to be described as a consummate orator, was as seductive in manner, as he was convincing in matter. He found eloquence compliant *, and could employ it with success, whether he was to engage an artful Antony, or to seduce a factious soldiery to his purpose; whether he was embarrassed by civil

† Vide Voltaire, Age of Lewis: Vol. II.

* Stackhouse V. 6. p. 515.

difficulties

difficulties, or involved in the dangers of war; whether he was to persuade an intelligent senate, or to encourage his countrymen to cultivate the blessings of peace.

Of their
morals and
manners.

INDEED, in all the particulars of his character, his morals at one disgraceful period of life alone excepted †, Augustus, as we imagine, was as illustrious and uniform as nature would admit. But, at that period, to which humanity dare not revert without confessions of frailty, or ambition without a blush, how contradictory were the cruelties he exercised, as well to his past as to his succeeding actions. For, no sooner was that tyrant passion gratified which had hurried him from usurpation to murder; no sooner were his wishes satisfied by his establishment in unlimited power, than he became exemplary for all that generosity could commend or humanity admire *. Though fond of exhibiting a magnificence which he judged becoming his station, he would not indulge it by a pro-

† Referring not only to his proscriptions, but to other vices; amongst which, his celebration of the feast Dodecatheon, wherein the guests personated twelve gods and goddesses, is particularly censurable, as well for its impiety, as for the excessive debaucheries to which it gave rise.

* Julian. Cæsares.

usive

fusive expence, even at a time when the
 wealth of his treasury was almost inexhaus-
 tible ||. Never solicitous to enshrine him-
 self in the splendours of majesty, he was
 accessible even to the poor, whose cause he
 was eager to hear, whose wrongs he was
 happy to redress †. This was great! but
 was it not greater still to forgive his ene-
 mies; to ally those enemies to his interest
 by the influence of benevolence; to hold
 his passions in subservience to reason, ¶
 and to render the course of justice uniform-
 ly and powerfully operative §? Nor was
 he, in general, less amiable in his private
 than his public life †. To be vicious was
 to be execrable in his court; and, hence,
 not the solicitations of genius on the one
 hand, nor the claims of nature on the other,
 could prevent the banishment of an Ovid

|| The learned and adventurously speculative Gibbon
 asserts (Vol I. p. 230. *Decline and Fall of the Roman*
Emp.) that “his court was the modest family of a pri-
 vate senator.” &c.

† Hist. Univers. Vol. XIII. P. 392. Littleton. Rom.
 Hist. Vol. II.

¶ Littleton Rom. Hist. Vol. II. Crev. Vol. X. &c.

§ Hist. Univers. Vol. XIII. p. 392 et antecedent:
 Littleton. Vol. II. &c.

† Littleton. Suetonius. Hist. Univers. &c.

or a Julia, whose depravity of manners he feared might become contagious †.

VERY different, indeed, was the conduct of Lewis. From education, in part, in part from the manners established in the court of the queen mother, he acquired a relish for novelty and parade, which he did not fail to gratify in a mode that realized the most romantic extravagance of of romance. In times of peace or of war, at periods of domestic happiness or real calamity, he was guilty alike of the crime of profusion. Nay, so compleatly was his temper the temper of the prodigal, that, at the moment when persecution had depopulated nearly one half of his kingdom, he encouraged by example every species of extravagance in the other ||. Even his camps, disgraceful at once to the king and the warrior, exhibited all the ceremonious etiquette and effeminating luxury of Versailles *. But these were not his only faults. Though of a disposition in many respects proud in the extreme, he could coolly descend to all the deliberate meanness of

† See Stackhouse V. 6. B. 8. C. 5. p. 513. and

Eachard's Roman Hist. in the life of Augustus.

|| Voltaire. Vol. II.

* Voltaire. Vol. I.

hypocrisy

hypocrisy, and, while ruin was meditated in his heart, brighten his countenance with the smile of esteem †. He was bold enough to be immoral, yet was ever afraid of being thought so. Hence his endeavours to appear the man of religion, even whilst his disregard to the most sacred duties of a husband ; his reiterated sacrifices of female reputation ; his depredations abroad, and persecutions at home, stamped falshood upon them all. In fact, his actions, in general, are more remarkable for extraneous splendour, than intrinsic worth ; they resemble a piece of base coin, whose motto is its merit ; and are chiefly worthy of remembrance as proofs of the too frequent inconsistency of the ambitious, who, fearful only of the evil that may be seen, can drudge in meanness and depravity to cheat the world, though conscience tells them they shall not cheat themselves.

FROM this estimate, formed, we hope, with candour, and authenticated by the testimony of the most respectable writers, it is evident that, as the early industry and

Summary.

† Voltaire. Vol. II. &c.

resolution of Augustus overcame every difficulty which, from personal weakness or peculiarity of situation, arose to retard his genius in the pursuit of knowledge; Lewis, to gratify indolence and a love of pleasure, suffered a susceptible mind to remain uncultivated, though skill was anxious to adorn and science to enrich it—Hence, the youth of Augustus exhibited an earlier manhood, and the manhood of Lewis a later youth—In the former, reason soon ennobled character; in the latter sensuality debased it—The one, while young, was uniformly discreet; the other as eminently imprudent—Augustus, humbly born, caught dignity from conduct; the conduct of Lewis disgraced his birth—Philanthropy was a distinguishing feature in the early character of the former; inattention to the wrongs of a loyal people disgraced even the majority of the latter—At nineteen, Augustus, fearless of dangers which were sufficient to scare the resolute, pursued and obtained a redress of wrongs, to the disgrace and disappointment of a powerful and legalized faction, whose utmost influence was exerted for his humiliation; but Lewis, at a riper age, though his cause and a kingdom would have been his

his support, wanted spirit to free himself from the manacles of a minister — If the former promoted civil discension for the purposes of ambition; the latter indolently allowed it to rage amongst his people — Augustus was a political spendthrift at his entrance into life; Lewis continued a prodigal, in contradiction to policy, to the end of his life — The one offered at the shrine of popularity what was his own; the other incurred the odium of the public by lavishing what taxation had extorted — The schemes which enabled Augustus to subvert the republican government, were as daring as original, and, in every instance, as successful as they were daring; but those by which Lewis endeavoured to establish sovereignty over Europe, had been conceived by a predecessor, were less hazardous than bold, and, though sometimes great, were constantly defeated by a younger rival *. — Had not the attempts of the former prevailed, tyranny would have been established over the Roman state, in the person of Antony; had the endeavours of the latter succeeded, political and religious liberty would have

* William the 3d.

expired

expired in Europe—— Was Augustus an usurper? Lewis would have been such—— Did the former annihilate the influence of a fickle, factious and venal senate who frequently oppressed the public? the latter despotically overthrew a parliament, whose power, for ages, had been of service to the people.—— Was the Frenchman brave amidst his armies? the Roman was so in the camp of his enemies.—— Lewis, when strong, invaded the weak, and was successful; Augustus, more formidable in ability than numbers, attacked the powerful and was victorious—— The one, though flushed by his conquests in Holland, was routed by a boy at the head of a few undisciplined troops; but the other maintained the first advantage he acquired, in opposition to the Antonys of the age—— Augustus, in betraying the confidence of the republic, was but a traitor to the treacherous; Lewis, in various infractions of treaties, was perfidious to the sincere—— In perverting power to the purposes of cruelty, both personages were too much alike: but the cruelties of Augustus may be, in some measure, extenuated, by a consideration of the peculiar difficulties of his situation. Having purchased popularity at the
expence

expenditure of his patrimony, it became impossible for him, had he been inclined to do so, to return to the comforts of a private life. But even if he had retained the means of elegant retirement, it would have availed nothing, since he could not annul the act of usurpation which had made him universally odious to the republican party. He had no alternative but to support the power thus violently acquired, or submit to ruin. Standing in a situation so trying and critical, and being also well assured that he was surrounded by numbers who were violently disaffected to his interests, or had been accessaries in the assassination of his father, self-preservation on the one hand, and, probably, motives of revenge on the other, urged him to distinguish the commencement of his consulship, by persecutions, too sanguinary and general to establish those effects for which sound policy would have sought. Had he deliberated with his usual judgment, it is likely, he would rather have endeavoured, at this anxious juncture, to conciliate than to scare; to win, as was afterwards his practice, by the charity of forgiveness, than to awaken a desperate despair in his foes. Cruelty is rarely effectual where mercy has failed.

He

He experienced the truth. He experienced that the violent measures he had pursued, by no means diminished the number, or retarded the proceedings of his foes. On the contrary, their machinations immediately became more frequent and alarming; their former ill-will was embittered by the inveteracy of hatred; their spirit, sufficiently formidable from the beginning, acquired additional energy from the appearance of Brutus and Cassius, those ill-fated champions of popular freedom, in support of their cause. Thus beset on all sides, as well by the republican party, as by the forces of Antony, he found himself in the too common predicament of those who have dared to deviate from virtue: he found himself obliged, for the maintenance of power, in which was his only resource, to aggravate a past offence, by the perpetration of a greater. Hence the triumvirate was established, and the proscription decreed. Yet, however violent and cruel were his actions at this disgraceful period of his life, we cannot pronounce his condemnation, without condemning him as much for the peculiarity of his situation as for the depravity of his heart. Whereas, no argument of this nature, no
plea

plea of necessity, deducible from circumstance, self-preservation, or policy, can be offered in extenuation of the cruelties of Lewis. Had the Hugonots been a fickle and vicious people; had they violated the laws of their country; and, by a factiousness of disposition and turbulence of conduct, forfeited the protection which the illustrious Henry had wisely granted them by the edict of Nantz, they would, nevertheless, have retained a claim upon mercy, a plea of pity which true religion would have been ready to sanctify. But they were not capricious; they were not factious or disloyal. From their conduct they were a credit, from their numbers they were important, from their industry they were an invaluable blessing to the state. Besides, their genius was directed to the cultivation of arts and manufactures, which were little understood by their fellow subjects, and still less by the other nations in Europe. Therefore, honour and religion apart, their persecution was an act the most imprudent that ignorance could have dictated to disgrace the policy of Lewis. But, if it be further observed, that it was absolutely necessary they should be tolerated as the only counterpoise in the political scale

against

against the weighty influence of the court of Rome ; that persecution could not possibly tend to their conversion ; and, that the emigration of such of them as escaped the sword, would be doubly fatal to France, as they would not fail to carry into rival nations those arts to which she long had an exclusive right, language will be found too weak to express the opprobrium of Lewis as a politician and a man. — Upon the whole, it is evident that Augustus was cruel rather from necessity than choice ; Lewis more from choice than necessity — The cruelty of the former soon ceased to operate ; the cruelty of the latter was prolonged to the utmost — On other occasions, the policy of Augustus was always directed to prevent bloodshed ; that of Lewis generally promoted it — The schemes of the former were calculated to restrain as well domestic as foreign faction ; those of the latter excited it at home and through Europe — The one, as a king, seemed to live for the public ; the other, in general, to gratify himself — Lewis was less a man than a monarch ; Augustus exalted the monarch in the man — Peace, opulence and content were the eulogists of the reign of Augustus ;
war,

war, poverty and disaffection reproached the government of Lewis——Did the one exhibit a laudable intention and greatness of design in the canals of Languedoc? The other equalled him in the aqueducts of the Nile——If Paris and Versailles attest the fondness of Lewis for the elegant and the great; Rome exhibits her works of use and magnificence, as monuments of the taste of Augustus——Was Lewis deservedly to be applauded for his charitable institutions? The benevolence of Augustus to the conquered provinces, as well as to those which had been impoverished by war, is beyond praise——Lewis, in the course of a long life, scarcely added to the territory of France; Augustus, in a few years, won the empire of the world——The former, when he succeeded in his wars, owed success to his officers; the latter, as generally, to his own conduct——Lewis had a Condé, a Turenne, a Luxembourg, a Vauban and a Louvois to support him; but Augustus was all these to himself——The former endeavoured to subdue by all means; the latter by manly ones——Devastation was written on the banners of the one; to conquer and protect was the motto of the other——

Lewis

Lewis made conquests as if to be compelled to renounce them ; Augustus constantly retained what he won——Perseverance, in the Frenchman, was political phrenzy ; but, in the Roman, consummate prudence ——Lewis wasted torrents of blood, and involved his country in a ruinous debt of two hundred thousand and six hundred millions *, to purchase a name which virtue abhors ; but the warfare of Augustus terminated in the happiness of an empire, whose glory immortalized his——The former seems to have made the ability and honesty of his ministers the standard of his own ; whereas the other judged for and acted from himself——When Colbert was illustrious, so was Lewis ; but Augustus could be great without his Mæcenas—Did Lewis, by the total eradication of Gothic manners, compleat what his predecessors had begun. Augustus, in opposition to the prejudice of ages, taught the unpolished and the rude to blush for their deformity——If the former was happy in his endeavours to heighten the charms of politeness ; the latter, as successfully, cultivated the graces with the hand of virtue—Excited by the

* At twenty eight livres the mark. See Millot Vol. II.
liberality

liberality of the one, the fine arts gave a character to France; favoured by the generosity of the other, their height of perfection was justly boasted by Rome——Lewis encouraged the poets, whom he often needed; Augustus encouraged the poets, for they needed him——If the former was praised by a Corneille and Racine, did not Horace and Virgil deify the latter?——It is admitted by the most violent panegyrist of Lewis, that the state of science and letters, was his greatest glory; whereas the reputation of Augustus totters not upon a partial, but is founded on the broad basis of personal merit——Lewis, as an orator, sought to command; Augustus to seduce and persuade.——The manners of the one were artful and insincere; those of the other manly and unstudied——Lewis established parade; Augustus supported dignity——The former encouraged immorality by example; the latter could punish it even in the person of a daughter.——The life of the one was a life of error; but that of the other was an age of virtue, disgraced only by the faults of a day——In a word, as Lewis lived but to gratify pride, his reputation, like an Ægyptian pyramid,

pyramid, serves chiefly to awaken a melancholy idea of the tyranny which was requisite to compel the enslaved to raise it; whereas the character of Augustus, like an expressive epitaph, consoles humanity with this truth—the virtuous can never die!



A
COMPARATIVE VIEW
OF THE
L I V E S
OF THE
CARDINALS
RICHELIEU AND XIMENES.

THE SECOND EDITION.

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OF THE
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OF
RICHELIEU AND XIMENES.

WHILE the history of Human Nature, from the inexhaustible variety it exhibits, affords universal delight, it is, at the same time, for the importance of its lessons, and the awfulness of its examples, one of the noblest and most advantageous studies of genius. Furnished thereby, with a comprehensive view of intellectual existence,
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Introduction.

we learn what man has been, and, in a great measure, to judge of that which he ought to be ; nor, while we are taught to form a more extensive and rational estimate of his deserts, by learning the principles of his conduct, can we fail of acquiring such knowledge, as may teach us to beware of ourselves. Yet, however sufficient history may be for the great purpose of humiliating the arrogance of the heart, it is not less adapted to maintain, what is equally necessary, a just idea of the importance to which humanity may be exalted. Hence, if we blush for the depravity which frequently disgraces the bold and extensive genius, we may, nevertheless, enjoy that disinterestedness, magnanimity and heroism, which sometimes unite in the same character. If a Richelieu has been, the world has had a Ximenes to form a contrast in the historical picture ; a contrast so striking, that it is much to be doubted whether the most creative imagination could exhibit two characters, which, with an happier energy, could exemplify how much vice may debase, and
virtue

virtue ennoble the choicest acquisitions of mankind.

THE birth of Richelieu was marked by almost every circumstance that could accelerate his advancement into life. His education, considering the few years he devoted to study, was as propitious to the aspiring hopes he soon began to entertain as could be expected. Yet, having only skimmed the surface when he should have explored the depths of literature, he quitted his studies, rather a pedant, than a man of learning. However, as nature had been bountiful in forming his genius, or, perhaps, as his family had an extensive interest *, he entered into the church, as the surest road to opulence and honours, after having deceived the Pope, as to the immaturity of his age, to obtain a dispensation †.

Comparative view of the birth, education, and entrance into life, of Richelieu and Ximenes.

WHEREAS, Ximenes subdued his passions with the severest judgment. He suffered

* They had the presentation to a bishoprick. Vide Browne's Life of Richelieu, and Vittorio Siri.

† Browne's Life of Richelieu.

no prospect to excite, no hope to awaken an indecorous ambition. On the contrary, though sensible of the impulses of an extraordinary genius, he sought to distinguish himself by a becoming humility, and cherished honour as his only birth-right. Having prevailed upon his father, who held but the procuratorship of an inconsiderable district, to relinquish a design of forming him for succeeding to that inferior office, theology, the darling object of his attention, became his study; in which, as well as in civil and ecclesiastical jurisprudence, poetry, oratory, and the Eastern languages, he made a rapid progress. From this moment, the greatest difficulties he had to encounter were easily to be surmounted; and, having informed his heart as well as his head, for that station of life he was going to embrace, the whole of his attention became dedicated to it*.

Of their
early con-
duct and
success.

HERE his merits soon rendered him conspicuous, and he quickly met with considerable preferment. Rich benefices,

* Marfolier, Vie de Ximenes.

however,

however, were not the objects of his wishes. He renounced, at once, all his dignities and his honours, and threw himself, while yet in the prime of life, into a Monastery of Observantine Friars, an order remarkable at the same time for its uncommon rigour and superstitious devotion *. In this retirement he further cultivated those abilities, which afterwards ripened into such perfection. He did not, however, remain long in obscurity. He was destined to be the light of his country, not the lamp of a sepulchre. His sound judgment, and steady understanding, his piety and integrity acquired him such consequence in his own order, that, after being appointed apostolick preacher of Toledo, a capacity in which he maintained extraordinary popularity, he was elected to be its provincial †. In this situation he became more conspicuous than before. His reputation for sanctity daily increased, and procured him, in the end, the office of confessor to Isabella, the wife of Ferdinand.

* Marfolier Vie de Xime. Robertson's Char. V. Vol. II.

† Marfolier.

But,

But, still retaining the same spirit of humility, which characterized him, almost from his earliest age, he received this mark of favour from his queen, with a modest and unaffected reluctance §. She, however, having sufficient reason to be satisfied with the prudence of her choice, became determined to reward his integrity, in so much that she conferred upon him the archbishopric of Toledo, even against the inclination of her consort *. Such an honour few men could have resolution to refuse. Yet Ximenes accepted this promotion, which was to introduce him even to a share in the administration of his country, in obedience only to the authoritative injunction of the Pope †.

Thus successful were the recommendations of merit in his person, and thus safe and honourable was his progress to the dignities of life. But Richelieu, in spite of his abilities and connections, had many barriers to surmount, many difficulties to over-

§ Robertson. Charles 5. V. II.

* Robertson. Charles 5. V. II.

† Marfolier. Vie de Xim.

come, in the way he chose to greatness. Disgusted with the indolent retirement of a monastic life, and eager to sustain a part on a conspicuous theatre, where political genius might render him illustrious, he pursued every means which promised to call him forth from obscurity. Nor was he unsuccessful. His shining abilities, united to the interests of his family, introduced him to Galigai, the unfortunate favourite of Mary de Medicis, under whose patronage, though yet young, he was exalted to the bishoprick of Lucan, and the post of secretary of state *. These, however, proved but short-lived honours. The queen-mother, being deprived of the regency by her son, was compelled, with those of her party, to fly the court; and Richelieu, involved in her disgrace, was banished to a small priory in a corner of Anjou. Thus he experienced, previously, that hard fate he so lavishly inflicted upon others †. But, in such a state, his enterprising genius could not suffer him to re-

* Voltaire. Univerf. Hist.

† Voltaire.

main. He exerted every art ; he practised every falshood to obtain a restoration of his dignities ||. Nor did he struggle in vain. He regained admittance to the queen-mother, from whom Lewis, who was fully acquainted with his intriguing spirit, had endeavoured to separate him ; and, quickly supplanting all her favourites, was declared steward of her household.

At this time, the contest between Mary and her son was at its height. Armies were led into the field, and the kingdom was threatned with the most dangerous commotions. And, now, the politic Richelieu perceived how conducive deceit might prove to his exaltation in life. His ambition knowing no bounds, he cared not at what expence of honour his wishes might be accomplished. He was already of consequence to the queen-mother, and his eagerness to become so, if possible, to the king, determined him to assume the conduct of their reconciliation ; and, hence,

|| Brown's Life of Richlieu. L. Aubery.

having

having privately engaged himself to one party, he held a treacherous correspondence with each. The contending powers considered him of importance, and he knew how to profit by their opinion. He judged, what the event verified, that procrastination would best answer his purposes. He had reasons to support that opinion. He foresaw that Mary's party, chagrined and tired with delay, would recede from their engagements; and, consequently, as her strength decreased, that she would be the more easily prevailed upon to accept such terms as he might recommend: while, on the other hand, he suspected that reiterated disappointments, would make Lewis, at length, more compliant in the terms of compromise, than could be expected at an earlier period of the negociation. He, therefore, by his artful misrepresentations, encouraged the queen-mother to refuse every proffer of accommodation, until he saw his expectations accomplished; at which moment his objections ceased, and he perfected a treaty of mutual amity, which was made singular by the exclusion
of

many princes and noblemen from its benefits, and by its stipulation for the advancement of himself *. A cardinalate, obtained with difficulty, and accepted with joy, was the generous acknowledgment which the queen-mother paid to his supposed services †. Nor did her bounty rest here. His admission into council followed soon after, though the king's repugnance to the measure was so great, that, had she not won over the superintendant, Vieuville, to her party, it would, perhaps, have never taken place.

Of their administration and principles of policy.

IF he exhibited proofs of a treacherous, subtle, and enterprizing policy, in accomplishing his wishes thus far, the like policy became still more conspicuous as he rose in the state. His late advancement but served to excite a longing for further promotion. He caused la Vieuville, who had been a principal instrument of his exaltation, to be privately accused of misdemeanors in the office of superintendant of

* Browne's Life of Richelieu. Vittorio Siri.

† Voltaire. Univers. Hist.

the finances; and, scarcely had he established his power in administration upon the ruin of that man, when, to divert the public attention from such particulars of his conduct, or rather to indulge his darling passion of pursuing the politicks of Henry the fourth, which aimed at establishing the universal monarchy of France, he caused an effectual opposition to be made against the house of Austria, now formidable in Europe, who meditated becoming mistress of the Valteline *. This enterprize was as boldly conceived, as it was happily executed, and restored, in a great measure, that weight and influence to France which she had lost by the misrule of a feeble, bigotted, and factious party. At the same time, his reform of the revenues, and prudence in the application of the publick money, enabled the minister to assist the allies of Lewis, and, consequently, to depress, still more, the hated rival of French power †. This was
an

* Voltaire. Univerf. Hist.

† The house of Austria. Vide Voltaire and Aubery.
[Holland was assisted to make conquests upon
the

an happy revolution in the affairs of the nation. For, poverty having been the characteristic of the preceding ministers, the kingdom was stripped of its forces, and those allies, whom Henry had supported with an army of forty thousand men, were flighted and disgraced. Foreign contempt was the consequence, while, at the same time, domestic commotion prevailed. Such were the evils which Richelieu had already encountered, and, in some respect, overcome. But, in the process of his administration, other and more serious difficulties arose, or were created by himself. Conscious of the hatred of almost every party, and insatiable in his lust of power, he sought to reduce the strength of all, as the most infallible mode of establishing his own importance. Hence his violation of the edict of Nantz, which was too favourable to the hugonots for his plan of government; and, hence, his consequent warfare with the Rochellers,

the Spaniards, and Count Mansfeldt encouraged to support the war in Germany in favour of the Elector Palatine.

in

in the siege of whose city he expended half the treasure of the kingdom, and sacrificed forty thousand of his fellow subjects*.

THERE are some who have defended, and even praised this barbarous, and, in our opinion, unnecessary policy, as being expedient for restoring to the king, an influence which was likely to maintain an equilibrium between him and the contending powers of the kingdom. We own ourselves, however, incapable of applauding in a first minister, what we dare not praise in an humbler individual, any thing militating against the established principles of justice or of honour. And, certainly, without attending to the selfishness of the motive, Richelieu committed a flagrant outrage upon both, by violating the peace of a people, who did not, at least at that period, offend†, and to whom the common rights of humanity, religion, property and freedom, were assured by an edict, which had been solemnly ratified by their

* Vide Browne's Life of Richelieu.

† Browne's Life of Richelieu.

late king. But, was such a procedure prudent, even supposing it to be just? On the contrary, we consider it as highly impolitic with regard even to the consequence which he intended the quarrel should produce—the better establishment of his power. We look upon it as temerity, madness, any thing but the dictate of rational policy, to enrage a numerous, united, and determined body of people, at a time when the kingdom was convulsed, when faction prevailed in every quarter, and a defeat on his part, would have inevitably overthrown all his schemes of dominion, and established the strength of protestantism upon a permanent foundation. However, his superiority in the quarrel, obtained as much by art as force, proved a firm support of his political plan. He was aware of every circumstance of his good fortune, and, pursuing his success, disarmed and crushed the great body of protestants, which had, like Rochelle, attempted to throw off his yoke*.

AND,

* The politicks of Richelieu were effectual, though, seemingly, never so contradictory as about this period.

On

AND, now, having an opportunity of executing his more extensive designs, Italy, Germany, and the Netherlands became the scenes of his operations. An advantageous treaty was concluded[†] with the Duke of Savoy †, who ceded Pignerol in perpetuity to France: the Prince of Orange was enabled, by the treasury of the minister, to make conquests upon the Spaniards; and the success of Gustavus Adolphus, whom he had invited into Germany, added fresh lustre to his services*.

On the one side, he assisted the German Calvinists, who were in opposition to the House of Austria, with the wealth of France, and seduced the Dutch Protestants to fight against their brethren, the Rochellers — While, on the other, the arms of Lewis were employed in driving the Pope's troops out of the Valteline, in favour of a protestant people. Thus, the hugonots, at home, were the objects of persecution, while those of the same religion were supported abroad. But, for a length of time, this barbarous policy prevailed amongst the popish states, and rendered Europe a scene of tumult and devastation. However, at the moment it gave advantages to Richelieu, over the House of Austria, it taught Spain to make such use of the hugonots in France, as he had made of the protestants in Germany.

† He had long continued doubtful whether to support the interest of France or Austria.

* Voltaire. Uni. Hist. Browne's Life of Riche.

THESE

THESE events, were but preparatory to the execution of that comprehensive and daring project, which, as we have already observed, always employed his greatest attention. Accordingly, with the bold and enterprising spirit of the illustrious Henry, he, now, determined to make open war with the house of Austria, at once in Italy, Germany, and Spain. Nor did he want reasons to vindicate a rupture: for when truth failed him, he applied to fancy. War was declared in consequence, and he was already victorious in contemplation. At first, however, he experienced nothing but disappointment; inasmuch that, instead of encreasing the empire of his sovereign, he saw France itself exposed to the most imminent danger. The flame, which his passion for singular glory had kindled in an enemy's country, advanced with rapidity towards his own*. His reputation diminished. He appeared somewhat like the man who sees the falling torrent, unable either to avoid or oppose it†. His mismanagements, just

* Voltaire. Univerf. Hist.

† Browne. Life of Riche. Vittorio Siri.

now,

now, and, indeed, through a great part of this war of his own creation, were numerous, and almost fatal to his country. The plans of his foreign policy were as unsuccessful, as his domestic government was embarrassed. Paris itself remained exposed—the troops were badly paid—the arsenals were totally unprovided with military stores—and the treasury was so exhausted, that the minister was compelled to seek supplies in the most shameful manner ||.

At length, however, his affairs began to wear a different face. His victories, in the end, outnumbering his defeats, preserved a reputation from ruin, which depended solely on the success of the policy he had adopted; a policy, whose true complexion may be seen in the means he employed to overthrow Austrian greatness. Spain was conquered by conspiracies and rebellions which he had fomented—Germany was harassed by enemies whom he had created—One part of Italy was

|| Grotius. Chalons. Voltaire. Browne. Vittorio Siri.

I

won

won to his alliance, and the other sunk under the burden of the war which he had kindled *. Yet, after all, the chief advantage derived by France from this pursuit of universal monarchy, was the temporary humiliation of the house of Austria; a circumstance, indeed, which forbade attacks from the continent; but, at home, faction still subsisted, and a general discontent prevailed. Nor is it to be wondered at, since the administration of Richelieu continued to the last to be marked with many acts of the most daring violence. Almost every year of it was disgraced by new rebellions and executions. He held his sovereign in thralldom — The princes of the blood were the objects of his persecution — The nobles who opposed him were the victims of his wrath — and the people, at large, execrated a minister, whose daily study, they thought, was to load them with accumulated taxes.

HOWEVER, although his misdemeanors were many and great, his annals record a

* Vide Voltaire. Uni. Hist. Vol. IV.

variety of actions which would have immortalized the glory of any character less alloyed with frailty and vice. If his administration was the æra of treasons and prosecutions, it was also the epoch of science and the polite arts. Alike eager for supremacy in the literary, as in the political world, he founded the French academy, and, as far as he was able, encouraged the progress of good taste. To him it was also owing that the crown of France had no longer to purchase the loyalty of its nobles, who formerly set a price upon their allegiance, which the kings were generally obliged to pay, and who soon discovered that, under the administration of Richelieu, treason could rarely escape unpunished. Nor was it enough that the regal power was thus maintained. The minister effected the further humiliation of the nobles, by annulling those grants which established them in office for life. Happy had it been had he devoted such a becoming attention to trade, which was in a state of debility, and to the police of the kingdom, which was disgracefully neglected: more happy,

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if,

if, in imitation of the English and the Dutch, whose traffick was extended from the East to the West, he had endeavoured to restore the almost annihilated commerce of France; and happier still, at least for his country, if, instead of aiming at an universal dominion, which was not to be established, he had endeavoured to establish a dominion over himself.

FAR different was the conduct of Ximenes. His policy was justice, his art integrity. No sooner was he called to take a principal part in the administration under Ferdinand and Isabella, than he displayed the greatest talents for business; a genius inexhaustible in expedients for the maintenance of government, and of schemes for extending its power; and an application so persevering as never to be subdued by fatigue. Taught by religion, and accustomed from his youth to check his desires, benevolence, moderation and œconomy distinguished his measures, and made his political conduct appear as a commentary upon his moral character. Hence he obtained such an interest in the affections

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affections of his countrymen, as enabled him, although not a long time in office, so successfully to apply his abilities and address, that he established his sovereign, who was absent in Flanders, in the regency of Castile, now vacant by the demise of Philip, notwithstanding the pretensions of the emperor Maximilian, and his being supported in his claims, which, the welfare of the country considered, were inferior to those of Ferdinand, by many of the prime nobility of Spain, who were as determined as they were powerful *.

NOR did Ximenes exercise his zeal for the gratification of any private wish. To serve a people with whose government he was entrusted, and to aggrandize his sovereign, who had originally opposed his promotion, and under whose jealous reign he could have no expectation of any increase of dignity or of power, was the great ambition he knew. And it was this ambition that induced him to prevail upon

* Mariana, lib. 29. and Zurita anales de Arrag.

Ferdinand

Ferdinand and Isabella, in opposition to the chief members of their council, to undertake the conquest of Granada. The enterprize was daring, but the consequences promised to be great. The Moors had supported their tyranny in Spain for several centuries, and possessed the kingdom of Granada, which extended about two hundred miles in length, and seventy in breadth, for two hundred and fifty-six years. To expel a race, whose power was a scourge to his country, and to annex to the dominions of Ferdinand so great an extent of territory, fruitful from nature, happily situated for commerce, and in its mines of silver and gold so rich, as to yield a revenue of at least a million of ducats annually to the Moorish king *, were objects worthy the political abilities of Ximenes. The attempt was made, and, after a long struggle, proved successful. That Moor being captivated, Granada was ceded by him to the crown of Castile and Arragon. His volun-

* Geographical Dict.

tary exile from Spain was the consequence of this event ; for he immediately solicited, and, by the prudent arguments of Ximenes in council, obtained permission to depart for Africa. An expulsion of the Moors succeeded. But, it was certainly more general than sound policy, or, perhaps, humanity, should have encouraged, as the country, in consequence, depopulated, became necessarily impoverished.

THESE memorable events, so flattering to the wishes of Spain, enhanced the credit of Ximenes, who was equally remarkable for the wisdom of his administration, and the sanctity of his manners. Yet he did not rest his reputation upon the acquirement of territory at home. He super-added many foreign acquisitions, by victories which bore the strongest testimony to the magnanimity and fortitude of his spirit *. But, after all that has been said, if we would examine his integrity, his political wisdom, and his resolution in their full

* Mariana, lib. 29.

extent,

extent, we must see him, upon the death of Ferdinand, in the regency of Castile. To this dignity he was exalted by the testament of his sovereign, at a period of difficulty and danger. The feudal tenure, originally introduced into Spain by the incurfve barbarians, Goths, Suevi, and Vandals, acquired force from its continuance. The nobles who held their fiefs upon that tenure, at all times watchful to take advantage of the embarrassments of their sovereigns, had gradually seized upon or obtained grants of the royal demesnes. Their power, encreasing with their property, became, at length, exorbitant, and, frequently, proved, even under the reigns of the best kings, the cause of anarchy and bloodshed. This Ferdinand knew; and, therefore, with peculiar wisdom, held the spirits of those tyrants in a curb. But, from an opinion which they cherished, at his demise, that a power superior to their own no longer existed to controul them, they prepared, with all the insolence of antient barbarism, to make their advantage of the crisis. This was one of the many
diffi-

difficulties Ximenes had to surmount. But, instead of entering into a compromise, he prepared to humble their pride; and his vigour and vigilance, although he now laboured under the weight of fourscore years, were equal to the task.

His first attack, which was confined to individuals, was conducted with so much policy and moderation, that it was scarcely attended with complaint. His next, however, seemed calculated to excite the full force of opposition: it struck at the very root of the feudal constitution, and was as bold as it was original. Until now, the crown, in all its wars, derived its strength from the nobles, who, by that constitution, were bound to lead their vassals, upon an emergency, into the field. To subvert a custom so adverse to the power of the sovereign, and to the liberty of the people, was the bold and patriotic design of Ximenes. Yet though bold, it was not Quixotic. It was planned with wisdom, and, by a stroke of commendable craft, accom-

accomplished with facility *. Under a pretence of making himself able to repel the incursions of the Moors, he formed a body of troops which was to be solely dependent on the crown, and was the first regular force ever levied in Spain. But its establishment was violently opposed by the jealous nobles †. Ximenes, however, was not to be intimidated. He overcame opposition, by impressing terror in some instances, and by acts of lenity in others.

THE regent, though he had already gone far, was not to be contented with so partial a reformation. He knew that the nobles held their principal property by defective titles——strength and usurpation; and was desirous, by restoring its antient rights to the crown, at once to reduce their overgrown power, and enable himself to ease the commons of that load of taxes by which they were oppressed ‡. But this was more than he dared as yet attempt. However,

* Minia. continuatio Marianæ.

† P. Mar. Ep.——Gometius, &c.

‡ Littleton's Dialogues of the Dead.

he proceeded in the reformation which he had so wisely begun, by claiming the royal demesnes, and refusing payment of those pensions which Ferdinand and Isabella had been obliged to grant to the faction which had raised them to the throne. He had justice to support him, for those grants naturally ceased at the demise of the grantors. Nevertheless, the nobles remonstrated and threatened, but in vain : the regent was prepared for his defence, and the tranquility of Castile was, therefore, maintained.

To accomplish such enterprizes, he had many and alarming difficulties to surmount: but they were not his only difficulties. He had to guard against the intrigues of the Flemish ministers, who engrossed the ear of his young sovereign, Charles †, whose dissolute court was now held in Flanders; he had the discontents of the commons and nobility of Castile, who were justly incensed at the conduct of their prince, to appease; and he had two foreign wars to support, the one in Navarre, the other in

† Charles V.

Africa *. The invasion of the former, by its late unhappy monarch, D'Albert, who used the most favourable opportunity for such an attempt, and whose measures were well concerted, called forth all the vigilance and activity of the regent. The invader was soon defeated, and confusion marked his retreat †. This event gave evident proofs of the policy and foresight of Ximenes ; but his operations in Africa, against the famous Barbarossa, were less successful. The ill conduct of the Spanish general presented an easy victory to the Moor. Yet, this defeat, the only one, indeed, he had experienced, was supported with the greatest resignation by the regent. He lost no dignity by disappointment ; on the contrary, the serenity of his temper, under this misfortune, added new lustre to his character.

At this time, the prodigality of the Flemish ministers had greatly reduced the finances. The Castilian nobles became

* Littleton's Dialogues of the Dead.

† P. Mar. Ep.

again incensed, and the commons were on the brink of rebellion. Ximenes had address to appease them a second time; but, distressed at the complaints of his countrymen, and heedless of the foes such a proceeding would create, he earnestly solicited the return of his sovereign, exhibiting, at the same time, in their true colours, the meanness and rapacity of his train. Charles, at length revisited Castile. But he came insensible of gratitude. He listened to a profligate faction; and merit in the person of Ximenes, was banished his court! For, however frailty may have intermixed with his worth, we may almost venture to pronounce, that his faults were a-kin to virtue. Ever well intentioned, he was too frequently bigotted to his own opinions; and hence it was, that he had nearly deprived Castile of the newly conquered kingdom of Granada, by an injudicious severity exercised over the Moors, with regard to their religion*. His intemperate zeal,

* When arguments failed, he used force as a mode of their conversion.

like-

likewise, gave rise to the court of inquisition †. It may be said, indeed, he only revived in this an ancient tribunal, and that it was authoritatively warranted by his church. However, this is but acknowledging, that cruelty may be sanctified by the name of religion, and that the bigotry of the monk prevailed over the liberality of the statesman.

THESE were his political errors. Yet, when we consider the addition made to the royal revenues; the discharging the debts which had been incurred by Ferdinand; the support of the new-militia; the wealth which had been transmitted to Charles, when in Flanders; the establishment of military magazines, more numerous and better furnished than Spain had known at any former period; the conquests made, and, which was as much to the honour of Ximenes, maintained; the encouragement given to trade, by a diminution of imposts which were burthensome to the

† Littleton's Dialogues of the Dead.

mercantile part of the nation †; the re-establishment of church discipline, in defiance of conspiracies, and the opposition of a licentious faction, of almost all the Spanish clergy, abetted, sometimes, by the pope; the reparation of churches; the publication of the polygot; the establishment of the university of Alcala; the pensions granted to the learned; and all this, and more, accomplished in a period, which, according to the ordinary course of things, might be thought scarcely sufficient for digesting a plan of such vast and various services, it will become doubtful, whether we shall most admire in Ximenes, the exalted and extensive genius, which was capable of suggesting schemes as numerous as magnificent; the penetration and prudence, which could foresee and provide against al-

† That which excited complaint the most was called Alcabala; it was one of the many which had been originally levied to support the war against the Moors, and provided that the merchants should pay a tenth of the value of all their merchandize to the king: but, by the benevolent interposition of Ximenes, this tax, grievous in other respects, was reduced to a fifth. Marfolier.

most

most every inconvenience ; the resolution which could encounter, and often ensure success amidst the greatest difficulties ; the promptitude with which the boldest attempts were executed ; or the integrity and oeconomy, by which he was always distinguished.

Of their military capacity.

WE have already observed that error as well as vice sullied the political character of Richelieu. But, if we consider him as a meer soldier, his conduct will appear less exceptionable. He was active and spirited in his undertakings ; neither to be intimidated by delay, or ruffled by disappointment. Pignerol and Chamberoy were compelled to yield in two days to his victorious army. But Rochelle bears the strongest testimony of his ability, courage, and perseverance*.

THE

* Rochelle was as well prepared for the most vigorous defence, as she was happily situated for the reception of succours. England had sent them : and had not Buckingham, who commanded the armament, delayed, as it is said, to appear before the city, it would not, perhaps, have been possible for the force of France to have reduced it.

THE African expedition, indeed, seems to render the military character of Ximenes at least as illustrious. On the coast of Barbary, Oran, and other places of no small importance, were annexed by him to the crown of Castile. Such a spirit was but little known in those days, especially in one of an ecclesiastical order; but, to defray out of his own revenues, the expenses of so great an undertaking, evinced a magnanimity of soul, as singular as it was respectable*.

If we consider the eloquence of Ximenes, it will be found to resemble his general character. It was frank, open, bold, and original——unadorned by those graces which charm the fancy, and rather to be estimated, like sterling coin, for its intrin-

Of their
eloquence.

it. Richelieu took advantage of the opportunity, by preparing to block up the port. The sea disappoints him in his first attempt; the winds frustrate his second; yet still he pursues his scheme, until a stupendous mole is erected, capable at once of resisting the winds, the waves, the efforts of England! By this means, like another Alexander he reduced his Tyre. Voltaire.

* Marfolier. Mariana, lib. 29.

fic value, than for the embellishments of art.

RICHELIEU was a more affected orator. He was, at times, subtle, but he was always pedantic. His taste was early vitiated by the affectation of the schools, and his judgment by religious controversy. It may be, likewise, observed, that his language was rough and inelegant: like himself, calculated to scare rather than to conciliate, to command rather than to persuade.

Of their
manners
and morals.

THUS, circumstance after circumstance contributes to recommend Ximenes to our veneration. Nor will a review of the manners and morals of the two ministers, in any degree, alter the case. Richelieu might have acquired esteem, had not his passions too frequently over-ruled his understanding. The whole art of insinuation was his, and he used it where he had an interest to maintain; but his insolence was, frequently, intolerable to those from whom he had nothing to solicit. Alike capricious in
youth

youth and in manhood, he would this moment affect to appear the theological scholar, and the next metamorphose himself into the amorous cavalier. His pride was only to be equalled by his ostentation. He paraded in more than regal show, and, in the luxury of his table, and the magnificence of his household, for the support of which the immoderate sum of a thousand crowns a day was scarcely sufficient, he so far eclipsed majesty, that, had your judgment been decided by the eye, the minister would have appeared a king, and the king a cottager. The facts already stated, very nearly demonstrate the temper of his morals. The vows he had made of fulfilling the sacred duties of an ecclesiastical life, but little impeded the gratification of inordinate desires. To injustice, he often added ingratitude, to cruelty, revenge *. Nor was his loyalty less frequently tainted by his ambition, to which he rarely scrupled to sacrifice as well the

* See an account of the trial of the Marshal de Marillac, and of the death of Monsieur de Thou, in Voltaire. Un. Hist. Vol. IV.

quiet of the king and the welfare of the nation, as his own honour.

How striking a contrast will appear to this character, when Ximenes is exhibited as rigid in his manners at court, as he had been in a cloyster. His example, while he was in a convent, tended to reform the excesses which were practised by his order: he performed his journies on foot; and was so temperate as to subsist upon alms. Nor, after his acquisition of the archbishopric of Toledo, did he attend much more to any personal gratification, until the pope, in consequence of a letter from queen Isabella, recommended to him to live in a manner more suitable to the dignity of his station. He was not less austere than determined. He scorned a submission to power, when he thought his conduct was to be justified by the principles of right *. He was as little apt
as

* Hence, upon possessing himself of the archbishopric of Uceda, by virtue of an expectative bull, granted to him at Rome, in consideration of his merits, he steadily, and at a time of poverty, opposed the archbishop of Toledo,

as able to flatter the great. On the contrary, candour, which nothing could warp, was, at all times, as distinguishing a feature in his character as disinterestedness. He whose moderation induced him to renounce the splendours of a court, was the best calculated to steer through the difficulties of an exalted station, with honour to himself, and advantage to his country. His piety stood in competition with his disinterestedness, and his zeal for the reformation of manners, and the advancement of religion, was equally active and sincere. He was liberal without ostentation, and employed revenues which were immense, in acts of public utility or of private benevolence. In a word, however ambitious he may have been, to see his schemes carried into execution, and however severe to those who opposed them, his conduct entitled

Toledo, who wished to prevent his enjoying that benefice, and endured a rigorous imprisonment of two years in a common gaol, rather than relinquish what, in his consideration, had been so fairly transferred to him, although he finally shewed how little he valued the fee, by exchanging it, almost as soon as he was permitted to hold it, for a canonry in another diocese.

him

him to every token of esteem which a nation had to bestow. Nor were his countrymen ungrateful. He had a monument in every virtuous heart, and his eulogy was transmitted to posterity in a thousand actions, which will never cease to praise themselves*.

Summary.

FROM a dispassionate review of facts, it appears, that Richelieu's original situation was superior to those impediments which tended to retard, if not totally to prevent the genius of Ximenes from obtaining the objects of its pursuit — The friends of Richelieu possessed such means of cultivating his abilities, as were not within the reach of those of Ximenes — The mind of the one was informed by the ablest scholars of the times: the other was, in a great measure, self-taught. — Besides, Ximenes lived in an age and country less learned and refined. The feudal system, which forbade the progress of letters and of taste, was then in its zenith. The nobles,

* It is said, by an accurate historian, that he was worshipped as a saint even by his cotemporaries. Vide Robert. Hist. Charles Vth. Vol. II.

whose

whose patronage was essential to the advancement of science, encouraged no ambition but to head a numerous following, no spirit but for faction and revenge. Literature, therefore, was found by Ximenes in an humble state. For all which reasons, though we cannot wonder that Richelieu, with so many favours from nature as he enjoyed, should acquire an extensive knowledge, we are astonished that genius itself could have enabled Ximenes to become so learned as he was.—Richelieu, in his youth, was ambitious and political; he obtained the ecclesiastical habit by fraud, and engaged in the service of the church, with a view to those honours and emoluments which he foresaw it would procure: but Ximenes became a priest evidently from real vocation, and continued to promote the welfare of religion, rather than his own.—Interest and art alike contributed to introduce Richelieu to Mary de Medicis: but modesty and merit were heard from a convent, to recommend Ximenes to the favour of his queen.—Richelieu fled from a cloyster to a court:

a court: Ximenes renounced a court for a cloyster. — Richelieu solicited power: Ximenes was solicited by power. — The former was ungrateful and treacherous to those who had exalted him: the latter was affectionate and sincere. — Richelieu had nothing to boast from his mode of acquiring a share in administration. His sovereign, though weak, had sufficient penetration to discover the danger of employing so unprincipled a character: but, what inclination would have prevented, necessity obliged Lewis to permit; and Richelieu, when in place, was too much the politician to neglect insuring the continuance of such embarrassments as must render his services essentially necessary: on the other hand, though the promotion of Ximenes was opposed by Ferdinand, that sagacious monarch no sooner became acquainted with his worth, than he transferred to him the amplest power; and, in the end, gave the most authentic testimony of esteem, by appointing him to the regency of Castile — Richelieu was an ecclesiastical Cromwel, who, by fraud and perfidy exalted to
greatness

greatness, fixed his authority not by the murder, but by the dependency of his sovereign : Ximenes, like a prelate of the primitive church, obtained pre-eminence by the sanctity of his character, and maintained it by an undeviating attachment to his prince and his country—It seems as if Richelieu often involved Lewis in distresses, but to show his skill in extricating him from them : but it was the pleasing office of Ximenes to pluck its thorns from the crown—Richelieu, frequently excited dissensions : Ximenes appeased them—The former often created difficulties in the government, even when it was weak : the latter removed them to encrease its stability—Richelieu aggrandized himself at the expence of France : Ximenes aggrandized his country at his own charge—The one was an ignoble foe, who, when arms were unsuccessful, scrupled not to recur to arts that were mean, and treachery that was disgraceful : but the other supported the rights and forwarded the conquests of his country, by an intrepidity of spirit and openness of design which became a hero—

The

The affairs of the former wore, sometimes, a ruinous appearance: but those of the latter were, almost uniformly, secure and unembarrassed.—Richelieu, uncommonly bold in his schemes, sunk under disappointment: but Ximenes, not less spirited and original, triumphed over defeat —If Richelieu exhibited an extraordinary policy, in conducting the attack upon the house of Austria; the genius of Ximenes was not less conspicuous in the conquest of Granada: but the former attempt, if it was really desirable it should be made, was, nevertheless, untimely, and carried on to the imminent danger of France: whereas, the latter had been long expedient, and was productive of lasting advantages to Spain——Richelieu thought too much of extending the influence of his country over foreign nations, and too little of reforming its internal polity: but Ximenes, at the same time that he enlarged the Spanish dominion, abroad, provided for its domestic welfare and security.——Richelieu, actuated more by pride than patriotism

patriotism, humbled a nobility, whose feudal rights were few : but Ximenes, guided by a zeal for the public welfare, subdued an aristocracy, whose privileges were many—The former had not the moderation, or wanted the art, which could extinguish the feuds his attempts had excited : but the latter effected his purpose, without any lasting discontent——To Richelieu, faction was an hydra which could not be conquered : but the decisive vigour of Ximenes crushed dissension in its birth—Under Richelieu, science dawned in France : under Ximenes literature was cherished in Spain——By the former, trade and commerce were neglected : by the latter, encouraged and improved.——In a military capacity they were alike bold and persevering : but the enterprizes of Ximenes were more prudent, and, consequently, more successful——Richelieu's oratory was calculated to awe : Ximenes' to persuade—Richelieu exhibited in his administration a history of his heart ; vast, artful, violent and treacherous ; the morals of Ximenes were

were described in his politicks; benevolent, steady, manly and just——Richelieu was despotic over all but himself: Ximenes governed none with such rigour as himself——Richelieu was a sensualist through life: Ximenes was always his own penitentiary——The former was a courtier in the church: the latter a churchman in the court——Richelieu, as if general hatred had been the object of his wishes, employed the executioner as his panegyrist, and gibbets as the monuments of his power: but Ximenes, heedless of applause, was, nevertheless, determined to deserve it——The follies of the former became so common, that mankind ceased to blush for them: but, when Ximenes erred, Humanity wept. Both succeeded accordingly. The one had no friends, but those who were such from fear or from interest; the other no foes, but such as were foes to virtue.—In a word—Richelieu was mean in sentiment, however great in action: his deeds were interested: he lived for himself. But Ximenes was the illustrious citizen, whose
sentiments

sentiments and actions were social and disinterested; who devoted a length of life to the service of the public, and, in the end, bequeathed a character to posterity, in which we may trace as many incentives to virtue, as we shall find examples, in the annals of Richelieu, of judgment warped by passion, and superior abilities misapplied.

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A
COMPARATIVE VIEW
OF THE
L I V E S
OF
HENRY IV. OF FRANCE,
AND
WILLIAM III. OF ENGLAND.

THE SECOND EDITION.

THE GREAT VIEW

1852

THE GREAT VIEW

THE GREAT VIEW

THE GREAT VIEW

TO THE
RIGHT HONOURABLE
J O H N,
EARL OF BUCKINGHAMSHIRE,

THE FOLLOWING
E S S A Y
IS INSCRIBED,
AS A TESTIMONY OF RESPECT,
JUSTLY DUE,
BY HIS LORDSHIP'S
OBLIGED AND MOST OBEDIENT,
HUMBLE SERVANT,

Jerom Alley.

A
COMPARATIVE VIEW
OF THE
L I V E S
OF
HENRY IV. OF FRANCE,
AND
WILLIAM III. OF ENGLAND.

IT has not been unfrequent, but it is Introduc-
tion. certainly improper, to oppose two characters against each other, which have scarce a resemblance in common. The true critic in history will proceed in another manner. He will act like the connoisseur, who, in arranging his pictures, attends to their

L 2 intrinsic

intrinsic merits; and, by contrasting the works of a Titian with those of a Raphael, enhances the beauty of both, instead of diminishing the effect of either. The two great characters, which have been proposed to our consideration, are of this nature. They are like the compositions of those eminent masters. They resemble in particulars, and are, yet, essentially different. They may both be attended to with equally moral advantage. The one exhibits the dangerous influence of uncontrolled passions; and the other, the happy effects of persevering virtue.

Comparative view of the birth and early education of Henry and William.

HENRY'S birth was a source of gratification to the hopes of his parents; announcing, as they thought, what his life so fully verified, that Spain, whose usurpation they had felt, should find in him an avenger of their wrongs. His mother, who succeeded her father in the kingdom of Navarre, was a woman of singular policy, ability, and resolution. She sang at the moment of his birth, and had the satisfaction to observe that he exhibited

no symptom of a puny constitution. The hardy treatment of his childhood, was a prelude to an education with which delicacy had nothing to do. He was accustomed to such exercise as at once familiarized him to toil and peril, and prepared his mind to sustain with alacrity, those vicissitudes which diversified his life. In the mean time, such governors were assigned him, as, from their distinguished abilities, were fully capable of directing the education of a youth, who, with royalty, was to inherit the extensive demesnes of his fathers. Under the care of those, he became heroic before he knew what it was to be great, and appeared to be a man, ere he had ceased to be a boy.

ON the other hand, William came into the world with every seeming disadvantage, and struggled through it under the pressure of perpetual inconveniencies. He was a posthumous child. His birth being premature, a delicacy of constitution, and weakness of frame, were among the number

ber of his misfortunes. He may be said to have been persecuted before he saw the light. His fortune was incumbered. His public interests were opposed by a formidable party, headed by De Wit*, to which his father's rash designs, conceived in the pride and wantonness of youth, against the liberties of the states, had given birth. The honours which had been decreed hereditary to his family, were done away by a vote; and, thus, his countrymen, in a fit of zeal for freedom, sacrificed his interests, whom Providence intended as her guardian and her glory!

NOR did his public distresses end here. That tyrannical assertor of popular liberty, Cromwel, caused the states, by a formal decree, to annul the rights of the house of Orange to the office of stadtholder. This was designed as a final blow to the future consequence of the prince; and, as if to encrease its efficacy, the principality of Orange was, shortly afterwards, wrested from him, by a violent and ambitious

* Pensionary of Holland.

neighbour,

neighbour, the king of France. In the mean time, the delicacy of his constitution, and the narrow abilities of his tutor, who was alike deficient in a knowledge of literature and the world, forbad those acquisitions from study and exercise, which, in the ordinary course of life, are necessary towards enriching a healthful body with a sound mind. However, Nature, who often works her wonders where they are least expected, chose him an unpromising repository for an inestimable pearl! Happy, perhaps, for his fame, that such inauspicious circumstances followed his birth! What glory might he not have lost, but for the difficulties he had to surmount! what veneration, but for the trials he had to sustain!

As, from this view, it appears that Henry was more fortunate in the circumstances of his birth and early education than William, it will be also found, that he enjoyed much greater advantages in his youth. He caught a flame from history, and panted for an opportunity of emulating those warlike characters of which he had read. His wishes

Of their youthful circumstances, their temper, the situation under which they engaged in the public service, and their military character.

wishes were soon gratified; for Lewis the first, prince of Condé, lately the head of the hugonot party, having been killed at the battle of Jarnac, he, nominally, became their general *. His early talents for war, and his impatience to acquire renown, were objects of astonishment at the battle of Moncontour. 'Twas there the soul of the hero beamed forth from the boy; for, though but in his sixteenth year, such was his ardour to partake in the conflict, that with difficulty he was restrained within the bounds of prudence. He was the first that discovered an error in the conduct of the generals. "We have lost our advantage," cried he, and the battle of course †." Such early spirit and understanding promised wonders. Nor did they disappoint expectation. They shone with strengthened lustre at the battle of Coutras: a battle which may be considered as the foundation of his future good fortune ‡, and was

* On the recommendation of Coligny, admiral of France, who retained the power, and to whom he was indebted for the principles of the military art.

† Prefixe.

‡ Davila.

so much the more to his glory, as, through the course of their many wars, it was the first the hugonots had gained *. But, if we would see his valour, his conduct and humanity in their zenith, we must look onward to the plains of Ivry ; where, principally depending on the support of a gallant nobility, who fought for no other reward but fame, he obtained a victory, which evinces, in the most remarkable manner, how much courage and conduct are superior to numbers. The plan of the battle was truly judicious; the valour with which it was fought, superior, if possible, to the plan; and the clemency which distinguished it, more glorious than all! In a word, he entered on the business of the day like a christian †, and established that reputation for valour and skill, which his

* What an unhappy people were they? Sincere in a cause which they were never to establish, they became the dupes of aspiring men, who, under the pretence of maintaining a religious, prosecuted, in fact, a political war. —The Hugonots bled for the convenience of their leaders!

† With a noble and pathetic prayer.

youthful

youthful experience and abilities had so often promised.

WE have already observed that Henry had many and great advantages, on his entrance into the busy world, which were never participated by William, who, indeed, had not only an insufficiency in his early education, but the illiberal endeavours of De Wit to depress the rising ardour of his genius, to complain of. However, under the auspices of the princess his mother, the former was, in some degree, recompensed, by his acquisition of the European languages, and of those parts of mathematical knowledge, which immediately relate to the military art; and the latter soon blazed forth in a passionate desire to emulate the deeds of his illustrious ancestors. Yet, still, insurmountable obstacles appeared against his advancement. He had no Coligny to introduce him into life. De Wit's party continued implacable; and the states perpetuated the edict for the suppression of the office of stadtholder. At length, the distresses of his country gave him an opportunity

portunity of emerging from retirement, and of shining at once in his native lustre. Lewis, the modern Alexander, whose pride was conquest, having concerted, with Charles of England, the destruction of the protestant religion in Europe, determined upon making Holland, its great support on the continent, the first sacrifice. Wherefore, putting himself at the head of a formidable army, and attended by generals of the most respectable character, he carried his arms into the heart of that country; where, with scarce any of the troubles of war, he effected all its purposes. He possessed himself of three provinces in one campaign. Resistance scarce stretched an arm against him; nor was it to be wondered at, since the states, anxious, by every method, to prevent the future power of the prince of Orange, had, before the commencement of the war, enervated their internal strength, by disbanding their veteran troops and experienced officers whom they thought attached to his interest, and madly appointed young and unskilful men to command their garrisons, which, although numerous, shuddered

shuddered at the sight of a disciplined army. Lewis, all this while, may be considered rather as a visitor than a foe in their country, for, wherever he came, the gates of the towns flew open for his reception. In a paroxysm of despair, the Hollanders revolted against their magistrates, and compelled them to appoint the prince, in whom their last hopes were placed, to the office of captain and admiral general of the states. This promotion was soon followed by a suppression of the perpetual edict, and his investiture into the office of stadtholder.

AND, now, being equally powerful in every department of the state, he exhorted the citizens to a steady defence of their liberties; assured them the other powers of Europe would not tamely behold the progress of the French arms; and, having declared his resolution to set his country free, or to die in her last entrenchment, flew to the army, where, at his first appearance, he signalized himself by opposing the whole power of France, commanded by the king in person, who, attempting

tempting to force his post, was compelled to retire with considerable loss. The Dutch seemed to acquire new life from this moment. They repulsed the French at Ardemburg; and compelled the bishop of Munster, who headed an army of near thirty thousand men, to raise the siege of Groningen with confusion and dismay.

THESE successes on the part of Holland, sufficiently evinced to Lewis, the importance of the prince of Orange. Wherefore, to bring him over to his interest, he repeated an offer *, the most flattering of all others to human nature, and which, perhaps, the youthful William only could have resisted. But sovereignty had no charms for a mind, which aspired to the superior dignity of ruling the hearts of a people. He rejected the insidious bait, with all the contempt of true ancient heroism, observing, that his country's confidence was a trust he could never betray; that he

* Vid. Temple's Works. Littleton's Dialog. of the Dead, and Harris's Life of King William.

stood

stood up to defend her liberties, which no consideration should tempt him to barter. A narrow soul would have seized such an opportunity of revenge. William, however, influenced by a nobler principle, seemed determined to convince his countrymen, that, remembering only generous actions, he would endeavour to secure peace and habitations to those who had endeavoured to deprive him of a home.* Virtue has a charm even for the mean and vicious. It fared with him accordingly; and those who had striven to crush him as a serpent, considered him, now, as the phoenix of the age. But the resolution he shewed upon this occasion, served only to excite the fury of war. Lewis, convinced that his constancy was immoveable, determined on the total ruin of Holland. However, the activity of the prince soon assured him, that it was easier to determine than to

* De Wit was the person sent by the states to inform him of their expectations, that he would quit their house at the Hague. A message the more mortifying, as being delivered by a foe, and as the house had been ceded, for the use of the family of Orange, for many years.

perform.

perform. William, in the depth of winter, penetrated into the enemy's country; hunted an old general from post to post; and returned with abundance of prisoners, and the booty of two fortified places*. But it was reserved for the next spring to establish his reputation for arms, when, in spite of a formidable army commanded by Lewis in person, assisted by viscount Turenne; and of the forces which were led by the prince of Condé, and the duke of Luxembourg, as well as of the meditated descent of the English, he took Naerden, Rhinden, Bonn, Brevel, and Lechnic, almost under the eyes of those great generals; and had the glory of seeing the monarch, who indulged the unmaly desire of subjugating Europe, reduced to the dishonourable necessity of abandoning all his conquests in Holland, Maestricht and Grave excepted.

ENCOURAGED by these successes, and, probably, with a view of opening a way for

* Vide Harris's Life of William.

his

his arms into France, there to avenge the injuries of his country, William fought an opportunity of coming to a pitched battle with the renowned Condé. It was a thought worthy the Epaminondas of Holland! and an opportunity of putting it into execution soon offered. The scene was at Seneffe, and the battle continued with unremitting fury, for more than ten hours. Condé, Luxembourg, and Noailles, names in themselves formidable, commanded against the confederates. All their skill, all their valour was displayed; nor were those who fought under the banners of liberty, less eager for the honours of the day! Indeed, they must have been insensible of glory, if they had not been fired by the example of their leader. William moved upon wings! he was every where, and at once! saw every thing, ordered every thing! he recalled the fugitive, encouraged the weak, and, as if conscious of security in the justice of his cause, looked upon danger with contempt, and often snatched his laurels from the hand of death! Night, rather than necessity, parted the combatants.

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The allies, however, kept the field; on which * twelve thousand breathless bodies appeared as a sacrifice to the phrenzy of ambition. But it was a day of glory to William, who established his reputation even on the lips of his foes! Nothing, was, now, wanting to perfect the success of the campaign, and reduce the French to an earnest desire of peace, but to liberate his country from the only remaining token of its servitude. For this purpose he appeared before Grave, where his conduct and spirit so much invigorated his soldiery, that they soon effected the reduction of the place, for which, they had, in vain, endeavoured for more than a month.

OVERTURES of peace were, now, made on the part of France, whose views were to seduce Holland into a separate negotiation. But the prince displayed all that magnanimity in the cabinet, which he had so often exhibited in the field. He re-

* Sir William Temple says "six or seven thousand fell on each side."

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mained

mained immovably fixed to one object, the interest of his allies; nor could the uncertainty of success in another campaign; the inclination of the people, who had become impatient to see an end of the war; or even the strongest motives of self-interest, induce him to recede from this point. He was made to understand, that his patrimonial territories, in the possession of France, would be restored; but he nobly observed, that the recovery of these was not an object which should retard the peace; for, that he should be content to lose all, if, by doing so, he could acquire an additional good town for Spain, on the frontiers of Flanders. France, however, was unwilling to gratify his demands in favour of the Spaniard. The war was, therefore, prolonged, and another battle to be fought. Luxembourg had blocked up Mons. He was so confident of the security of his situation, as to assert, that the prince could not force him with four times his number. The event proved otherwise; for, after a desperate engagement, which continued nine hours, the duke

duke retired in confusion, under favour of the night; leaving the field of battle, many of the wounded, a quantity of tents, baggage, and ammunition, as so many testimonies of victory to the prince. But he was not at liberty to pursue it; the states, to his great disappointment, having, by their treaty at Nimeguen, put an end to a war, from which he obtained a reputation for bravery and skill, which, if it needed future encrease, was fully perfected by the glory of his taking Namure, to the astonishment of his enemies, and the admiration of Europe, when garrisoned by fifteen thousand men, under the command of that distinguished general, marshal Boufflers, and in sight of a French army of near one hundred thousand men, headed by marshal de Villeroy, who dared not to give him battle*.

WHILE the display of such a benevolent spirit ennobles William in our esteem, our veneration for Henry as sensibly declines,

Of the principles of their conduct, and their acquisition of sovereignty.

* Millot.

upon considering that, from whatever motive he at first took up arms, he continued, at least from the death of his predecessor, Henry the third, to wield them for himself. Religion was, now, but a word, to be used as best suited his purpose; for, from that moment, whatever his panegyrists may insinuate, there was only one end and aim for all his actions—the quiet possession of the throne of France. How narrow are the views of human pride! and how much more illustrious would have been the king of Navarre, amidst his native rocks and wilds in native honour, than seated upon a throne to which he was to ascend by an hypocritical renunciation of his religion? * And, that it was hypocritical, there

* It is as vain in Sully, as it is in those popish historians, who make a pride of Henry's conversion, to plead its sincerity. It is in vain he would impose upon us by confessing, that, although he had recommended it to him from political motives only, and that these motives originally induced the king to think seriously of the matter, yet, he at last became satisfied, "the catholic faith was the securest." And how did he become satisfied? by the success of the popish clergy, in their "conferences and controversies," over the protestant church: a circumstance, continues Sully, not to be wondered at, since these were the only arguments upon religion which the king

are many circumstances to evict even credulity itself. The French historians, partial as they have been in relating this

king had ever heard. This is the worst compliment the memoirist ever paid to his sovereign. But, attached as he was by every tie of affection to Henry, he found himself in the disagreeable predicament of disparaging either the head or the heart of his master. Wherefore he chose the former, as being the least injurious of the two. But the fact is not as he has represented it. Controversy, says Voltaire, had been as much the topic of conversation in Henry's party, as war or love. However, if indeed the protestant divines confessed an inferiority in the controversy, such a confession could have arisen only from a formal design to betray their faith by a determined perplexity, calculated to flatter "that religion which they already considered as their king's." But, not to argue upon the implausibility of all this, it cannot be supposed that such dissingenuity and fraud, could have escaped the quick sighted Henry, if he sought only for the truth. The fact is, "he consented to be instructed for form's sake alone; for indeed he knew more of the matter already, than the bishops with whom he conferred." And, although we cannot agree with the sprightly writer, from whom we just now quoted, that this conversion, made, as he confesses, for political reasons, and, we will add, attended with perjuries too, "secured the king's eternal welfare," yet, we well know, it answered his purposes, by silencing, in a great measure, the competitors for the crown. Shall we adduce other circumstances? Shall we observe how unlikely it was, that he, who had been educated a protestant from his infancy, should, all at once, become a sincere professor of that religion, which had made him the object of its resentment for many years together?

event

event, confess how much his sincerity was doubted by all ranks of people; nor have even his panegyrists been able to find a better apology in the whole compass of language, than may be conveyed by one word—policy.

THIS circumstance is no less injurious to the character of Henry, than the application of England was honourable to that of William. How consistent was it with the spirit and prudence of a brave people, in the day of their trouble, when their laws and liberties became the sport of a bigotted tyrant, to look for a friend and avenger in him, who had so nobly maintained the interests of freedom at home? William, however, was careful of meddling with a cause, which appeared likely to be productive of the most serious events. Success lay in futurity; and to attempt and not succeed, would be to sacrifice England and Holland at the threshold, without obtaining permission to enter the temple of liberty. But, when he found, from his own observations, as well as by
the

the repeated demands of persons of the first consequence in the state, that it remained with him, by rescuing their religion and laws, to save a country from ruin, in which that of Europe would be inevitably involved, he determined no longer to remain an inactive spectator. He prepared for the relief of a distressed people. He became so entirely devoted to the glorious cause in which he had embarked, as to be but little influenced by those numerous difficulties and dangers that arose to impede his resolution, and would have been sufficient to chill any spirit that did not, like the sun, owe only to itself, an equal and unextinguishable vigour. He knew he had some friends whom he dare trust, but was sensible he had numerous and irreconcilable foes, as well as that the people, for whose relief he had arisen, were often fickle and obstinate, and that, by opposing James, he would have to cope with the whole power of France, strengthened by the popish party of the three kingdoms. Yet, still, he persisted; not we conceive, as some would intimate, to gratify

gratify ambitious longings for royalty *. On the contrary, it seems evident, that he acted upon a principle so far noble, that, if a crown was indeed the grand object of his contemplation, he wished to receive it in a manner becoming himself, and the nation that was to bestow it; not for the splendours which would accompany it, but

* He knew there were legal barriers between him and the crown; that an oath of allegiance operated; that the claims of the king, even in case of a defeat, would still exist—in a word, that all those obstacles against his ascending the throne, which law, allegiance, and power could create, subsisted. Besides, it should be remembered that, at first, far from coming to extremities with James, he gave him such advice, as, if observed, would at once have secured to him, his crown and his quiet. And so studious was William of avoiding any just cause of offence to the king, while there was any prospect of his reformation, that, as soon as he discovered Monmouth had determined to invade England, he, who, till that time, had given this romantic youth an honourable asylum, made an offer of his personal service to the king, and immediately sent to his assistance, such English and Scotch troops, as were in the service of Holland. To this circumstance may be added, that the course of a few years promised to the prince the quiet possession of what, as some suggest, he, now, ambitiously sought. He was, by his mother, a nephew of England; and, in right of his wife, heir apparent to the crown. Wherefore, without doing violence to reason, we think, it cannot be supposed that he engaged in the revolution, to gratify a meer lust of dominion.

for

for the means it would give him, at once of establishing British liberty, and of indulging that glorious ambition, which ever influenced the prince of Orange and the king, to maintain the independence of Europe against the tyranny of France *.

HAPPY had it been for the reputation of Henry, if he had acquired sovereignty by such means. However, he nobly employed the powers which were conferred with a crown, and, consequently, deserved them. Scarcely, by the success of his arms, or rather by the abjuration of protestantism and the absolution of the pope, had he established himself in full security upon the throne, and, by an advantageous treaty with † Spain, reinstated the quiet of the nation, after a course of forty

Of their use of the regal power, and their abilities for government.

* He received it as the free gift of those, whose liberties and immunities he stood up to assert and secure; and who, circumstanced as they were, had a right to give it: but he received it under the stipulations of the declaratory act, which, while it circumscribed the regal prerogative, established to the people, a full possession of various and valuable privileges, which they had long desired. Did that indicate an insatiate lust of power?

† Concluded at Vervins.

years

years war, which proved alike calamitous to the contending parties, when he directed his attention to the happy cares of peace, and the relief of those miseries which civil dissention never fails to produce. These were objects worthy his regard. But he wanted a minister whose spirit was equal to his own, and whose ability would fully co-operate with the benevolence of his wishes. Happily the nation afforded one, who was too intelligent and honest to escape hatred, and too noble to regard it. Sully was the man employed. He appeared at the head of the finances, in spite of those speculators, who had long preyed upon the vitals of the nation, and dreaded his understanding as much as his worth. In consequence of this appointment, every branch of the revenue was methodized; the receipt of the income was restored to the king; the nation was relieved; the treasury grew rich; and, by the prudent œconomy which was observed in the application of the whole, not only an enormous national debt, was, in a short time, discharged, but

but a supply provided for carrying on many noble works of public ornament and utility, and, in a few years, such a saving made, as would have been sufficient for the maintenance of a war in Germany, had Henry lived to execute his designs against the aspiring house of Austria.

THIS was a happy revolution in the management of the finances; but the king was not to be contented with seeing the worst malady of the state removed. Wherefore, having reduced the army, he attended to the restoration of order through the country; to the improvement of the marine, on which the existence of commerce so much depended; and to the encouragement of arts and trade. He issued edicts providing for domestic plenty, by limiting the exportation of corn; and for domestic wealth, by subjecting all specie attempted to be taken out of the kingdom to confiscation. Chambers of justice were erected for the punishment of defalcation, and other public grievances; and many regulations established, propi-

tious

tious to tillage and to trade. Nor, in the variety of his cares, did he forget the interests of literature, and an attention to the affairs of Europe. Such a conduct, uniformly maintained, would have secured to him as great a political reputation as that he had established for military skill. But there are strange inconsistencies in this part of his character. He strove, by example, to discountenance luxury in dress, and yet he established manufactures of silk. He honoured the soldiery, but suppressed nobility acquired by arms. He was an œconomist in particulars, but squandered as much upon buildings, love, and at play, as would have supported an army*. Besides, he exhibited instances of a pride too great to be advised, and of an obstinacy too strong to be corrected. Few great men have so often repented, yet repentance did not always prevent a repetition of his errors. His mercy sometimes degenerated into vice. He pardoned such treasons in Auvergne, as had brought

* 15,000 foot, says Sully.

Biron to the block; but Auvergne was the brother of his mistress; and he re-established the jesuits, contrary to every system of sound policy, as well as to the justice of an arret, published by his own order, which had expelled them, as pests, from his kingdom. In vain Sully argued; in vain he shewed, that, from the subjection in which they were held by the pope, it was to be expected they would endeavour to shake the foundation upon which government rested, by exciting dissensions between the two prevailing religions; that, from their connection with Spain, they would labour for the destruction of France; and that, if every other method failed, they would again have recourse to the dagger or the bowl. In vain he said all this; in vain the parliament of Paris remonstrated. Henry was obstinate, and asked, "which of his advisers would be answerable for his per-son?" Thus, villainy operated like merit, in behalf of the jesuits, and those whom the king suspected at a distance, he invited about himself! But Henry was not superior

perior to fear, when threatened with personal loss or danger. Hence his abjuration for the sake of a crown; his favour to the society of Ignatius, and those terrors he felt from the predictions of astrology! * To these circumstances may be added that, although his suspicions could be easily awaked by designing men, so as even to affect the honour of the incorruptible Sully, yet, he was so credulous, as to be almost the continual dupe of promises and protestations. Besides, secrecy was by no means his political virtue; and this is the more extraordinary, as he often said, "he was beset with men who were continually laying snares for him, to penetrate into the bottom of his heart †."

THESE

* Mezeray says, that Henry dreaded going into a coach, from its being foretold to him that he should die in one.

† To instance the fact. When the grand scheme which had been formed by him and Sully, for reducing the power and gigantic influence of the house of Austria, by restoring an equilibrium to the states of Europe, was nearly ripe for execution; a scheme, which, of all others, went the closest to his heart, he suffered his mind to be so entirely engaged by the projects he had formed for carrying this design into execution, that, one day, in discouraging

THESE were his defects; but they were much less numerous than the difficulties which royalty intailed upon him. However, it may be comparatively said, that he renounced his cares when he became a king. Whereas William, from the æra of majesty, might have dated the commencement of his distress. He received the crown, but not the dominion of the empire. The obedience of Scotland was yet to be obtained, and Ireland to be conquered. Factions distracted England, and, at an early season, even many of those who had been singularly earnest in inviting the prince of Orange, exhibited tokens of disgust against the king. Men whose public conduct is

courting the matter before several persons who were by no means well affected to his interest, he declared, "he would give Spain and the House of Austria such a blow, as would prevent them for the future, from being considered as formidable foes to France," and was actually on the point of betraying his secret, until Sully, by taking the liberty of pulling his cloak, stopped his imprudent career, and gave him an opportunity of extricating himself, by the practice of a little prudent dissimulation. That this incautious disposition of Henry was productive of many ill consequences cannot be denied; and, in the end, there seems some reason to believe, it whetted the knife of Ravillac.

regulated

regulated by motives of interest, will ever find cause of complaint; and many such were about his person; for although he had given them a full proportion of the employments that were disposed of, his inability to do more became a cause of dissatisfaction, nor did they fail to infuse their pernicious spirit into all their dependents. They continued, indeed, in office; but they continued only to distract and distress. Hence, they had frequent opportunities of giving treacherous advice as to the affairs of the nation; and, while they pretended zeal for the king's honour, and respect for his worth, endeavoured to render even his humanity odious *. He saw, with concern, that the prevalence of religious animosity was a source of perpetual discord. He saw the danger as well as inutility of oaths, which, without being advantageous to the state, were offensive to the consciences of the people, and tended to exclude the meritorious from offices suitable to their worth. His great object, therefore, was to promote an union of the protestant sects,

* By slandering his moderation in religious affairs.

so that each possessing the like privileges, the whole might become unanimous in its endeavours for the public weal. His benevolent intention was opposed; but the ancient oaths of allegiance and supremacy were annulled, and an act of toleration was passed. This act did not include the papists; however, they experienced not less humanity in William, whose conduct ever evinced his utter abhorrence of religious persecution †. Yet, this protecting virtue has been called by the cold name of policy, even by those whose ancestors experienced the benignity of its influence!

To William, likewise, it was owing that the foundations were laid of what is as truly valuable in civil as in religious affairs. Previous to his time, an avowal of the rights of human nature was esteemed disgraceful or criminal; and, as power and opportunity were at hand, christian op-

† See his reply to the house of Lords when they addressed him to order the French papists to quit the kingdom; and his observation to the Scotch commissioners upon that clause of the coronation oath, which proposed the "Rooting out of hereticks."

pressed christian ! But he changed the fashion, by shewing that religious notions gave him no dislike to those who opposed his sentiments ; and he sought, by every method in his power, to prevent profession from injuring profession. His humanity thus operated in favour of those whom he wished to call friends. It went further. He sought for an act of indemnity, with clauses of exception only against particular state criminals, as the likeliest cure for all the apprehensions of every individual : but he did not at first succeed *. However, the mildness of his government operated so effectually upon the minds of the people, that they became relieved from their fears, and their attachment to the king increased with their affection. This was but a suitable return for that generous attention he shewed to the interests of Englishmen. Scarce a session passed but exhibited fresh proofs of such a disposition. For, notwithstanding the ingratitude he experienced ; the parliamentary insults repeatedly offered to his government ; the diffidence

* It was violently opposed by the whigs.

that

that was expressed of his good intentions; and the unceasing clamours which faction excited amongst the venal and the vulgar, he continued steady to the principle upon which he set out, that of establishing British liberty upon an immoveable foundation.

Nothing but virtue nobly superior to mean resentments could have excited him to persevere in the work. And this is the more to his reputation, as his passions were of the strongest kind. But, happily, his benevolence was stronger than those; inso-much that, when he could do good, he seemed no longer capable of remembering ingratitude! What a pity such a character should have to combat with the virulence of party! Yet, he often found his best measures retarded by the opposition of those who, while they complained of parliamentary corruption, which themselves had occasioned, longed only to partake of the spoil. Did the whigs prevail? the partiality of the king was the cry. Were the tories employed? the ingratitude of majesty

became the topic; the friends of William and of England were forgotten; the nation would be undone, for its affairs were put into the hands of its foes!—Thus circumstanced, what could he do? He endeavoured to promote tranquillity by balancing those parties against each other*; but, being convinced, at length, of the irreclaimable treachery of the tories, he determined, instead of trying them any more, to bring into his service such men only, as, he had reason to think, were faithful to him, and to the interests of his people.

To these causes were the frequent changes of persons and parties in his reign to be ascribed, rather than to an unsteadiness of his temper, an inattention to his friends, or an inability to distinguish whom he should employ. Nor can we wonder that such insincerity as he experienced, should make him liable to take ill impressions of persons, especially, as he had felt the treachery of servants, almost from his

* Burnet's History of his own Times.

younger days. However, his suspicions were sometimes politically, as well as morally, wrong. Nor was his obstinacy productive of less inconveniencies. Depending too much upon the rectitude of his intentions, he generally continued fixed to an opinion which he had conceived to be right. Nevertheless, he sacrificed his sentiments, upon many occasions, to the representative of the nation; and even, where he was unquestionably right, gave up his favourite object, a respectable army, submitting it, after the peace of Ryswic, to be most impolitically reduced to seven thousand men, and consenting to part with his beloved Dutch troops, rather than hazard the greater evil of a dissension with his parliament. Prodigality too was sometimes his fault; he was lavish to his favourites, and upon buildings; but on some occasions, as improperly frugal *. Nor, to make himself as happy as he might have been, did he sufficiently accommodate his temper to the disposition of a people who were rather to be won by the forward

* Burnet's History of his own Times.

affability

affability of a libertine *, than by that cold and reserved worth which so well suited the phlegmatic genius of Holland. He was too constantly the sovereign, and seemed to forget that it might become the king, at times, to disappear in the companion. Such were the failings in his political and civil managements, but these were as a drop in the ocean, compared to the blessings which arose from his government. Ecclesiastical promotion rewarded piety and learning; upright judges were placed in the courts; and naval and military merit was distinguished by honours and rewards †.

THESE circumstances speak the goodness of his heart; but, if we look to those securities he established for our civil and religious liberties, for our properties and persons, language will be found insufficient for his praise. To him we are indebted

* Charles the 2d.

† Neglect of military merit was imputed to him as a crime; but we think the titles and emoluments conferred on Schomberg, Ginkle, &c. sufficiently obviate the charge.
for

for the act, which, by excluding papists for ever from inheriting the crown of England, and by confirming the rights and liberties of the subject, as asserted in the declaration of the two houses of parliament on the thirteenth of February, sixteen hundred and eighty-eight, perfected the constitution, as far as the discontents of faction, and the foes of the revolution would then permit. To him we are indebted for the benefit of an act for regulating trials in cases of high treason, which, as it was long wanted to prevent the sacrifice of many an illustrious character, stands as an effectual barrier against ministerial vengeance and despotism. To him we are indebted for the act, which, among other provisions of the last importance to the people, established the succession of the crown in the illustrious house of Hanover. To him we are indebted for the full freedom of debating all subjects in parliament, and of avowing and defending our sentiments thereon. And finally, to his indefatigable endeavours Europe is indebted for her preservation from an absolute dependence on the will of France.

WILLIAM,

Of their
art, man-
ners, and
language.

WILLIAM, as we have observed, wanted art to make himself a happier man. Whereas, Henry possessed that engaging manner and captivating address, which charm wherever they are known! He had eloquence almost at command, and of a noble sort. It was animated but unaffected; expressive but not diffuse *. Yet he was
so

* There was an Attic elegance, united with a Spartan strength, in almost all he said or wrote. What could be more nervous than his speech at Rouen? "Already," says he, by the mercy of heaven, the council of faithful servants, and the swords of an illustrious nobility, between whom and my princes I dare not distinguish, since the appellation of gentleman is our noblest title, I have delivered this kingdom from servitude and ruin. It is my wish to restore it to its former state and splendour, and that you should partake in this second glory, as you shared in the first. I have not called you together, as was the custom of my predecessors, to oblige you to a blind acquiescence with my will, but to take your advice with a determination to abide by it, and to put myself under your protection. This is not always the humour of kings, of conquerors, or of veterans; but the affection I bear my people, makes every thing possible and honourable to me." Such was his studied eloquence; but it is not more to be admired than many of his common observations. What could be more generous than his saying to a former foe, the old duke of Mayenne, when he had heartily tired him in the chase, "cousin, this is the only harm I shall do you while I live?" What more humane than his words to two peasants, who had been condemned

so fond of a playful sort of wit, that, we fear, he sometimes degenerated into a punster. Nor was his language free from a kind of ostentation, which, while it was praise to himself, disparaged others.

A GREAT man need not become his own panegyrist, since illustrious actions find a tongue to praise themselves. It seems as if William thought so. He exhibited none of those insinuating arts, for which Henry was so eminently distinguished. On the contrary, he was remarkable for an unsatisfactory dryness and reserve. He spoke little. He shewed rather the strength of judgment, than the brilliancy of wit, or the novelty of invention. However, as he was endued with a considerable knowledge of languages *, with a strong memory, and

condemned to death, for supplying Paris with provisions, (while its siege was carrying on) when, giving them life and money at once, he said—"get you gone; Henry of Bearne is poor, if he had more he would give it you?" And what more gallant, if after such observations we should mention gallantry, than his Epistle to Gabrielle de Estrée from the field of battle, in which he said, "If I die, my last thought will be on God, my last but one on you?"

* Burnet reckons seven.

an ability that enabled him to be an "exact observer of men and things," he might have been a distinguished speaker, had not his political caution proved unpropitious to eloquence, which abhors restraint. And, hence, he disgusted as frequently by saying too little, as others do by saying too much. However, his coldness and circumspection forsook him at times. On the field of battle he spoke with freedom and fire, and his public speeches, almost without exception, abound with good sense, manly argument, and a dignity of spirit and expression, equally exempt from vanity and reserve.

Of their
morals.

WE wish it were not incumbent upon us to discuss some few particulars in the character of Henry. If we make a detail of his pleasurable pursuits, his resolution and morals must be exhibited but to excite contempt, or to provoke detestation. He will no longer appear like himself: his dignity will be demeaned, his majesty eclipsed! With a mind sufficiently informed to regulate the passions, he was, nevertheless,

nevertheless, their perpetual slave. Health and quiet were his constant offerings at the shrine of gratification; nor can it be determined into what depth of infamy he would have plunged, had not Sully interposed*.

Indeed

* Were there not authentic proofs of the fact, who could believe that he meditated a divorce from his first wife, with the view of gratifying the wishes of an adulteress (Gabrielle d'Estée) whose ambition aspired to his throne? But in his amours the fictions of Romance are realized. He was the Jupiter of France, who could lay aside the thunders of war, to assume the disguise of a peasant, that he might follow a mistress through the camp of an enemy; (Vide note on Volt. Henr.) and, with no less glory, lead an army into a distant province, to enjoy her conversation. One would imagine that reflection, the arguments of Sully, and the melancholy circumstances which marked the death of her who had thus fascinated Henry, would have induced him to guard against connexions in future, which, from experience, he might conclude, would be as injurious to his repose, as they must be fatal to his honour. But he was scarcely certain of obtaining the great object of his wishes, a divorce from the princess Margaret; and his ministers at the court of Florence had scarcely entered upon a treaty of marriage, between him and Mary of Medicis, when he was smitten with the charms of Henrietta de Balzac, a girl of bewitching innocence and beauty, as Mezeray describes her. Availing herself of the instructions of her parents, who sought to profit by a circumstance that seemed to give her the fairest hopes of a crown, she engaged the king so far, as to obtain his promise that he would marry her, if "within a year, she brought him a son." This promise

was

INDEED this minister was at once his guardian and his guide; infomuch that it would not be difficult to prove, there was, in

was so much the more shameful stigma upon his reputation, as his honour was already engaged to Mary de Medicis, and as Henrietta was of a family, whose intrigues against the state, in which she herself had been concerned, had lately occasioned Sully to signify to them an order from the king to leave Paris. But Henry was to continue the dupe of love, if we are warranted in the application of the word, and, as if to perfect that character, he reduced this promise into writing. Sully read it in confusion, and returned it with silence. What an emphatic rebuke, could the king have felt as he ought! But it was often his misfortune, that he could trespass upon the laws of honour with impunity. With less power he would have been a better man. He would have profited by the reproach he so lately felt; nor, by urging the scandalous business further, have obliged the minister to take the writing from his hand and tear it to pieces. But even this mortification served only to excite his choler. He wrote another promise with which he purchased enjoyment. However, his ministers, more zealous for his glory than himself, concluded immediately the articles of his marriage with Mary, and thus ended an affair, which, as some think, reproaches Henry's justice as much as his understanding. If he did not intend complying with the tenor of his promise to Henrietta, he was wicked; if he did intend complying with it, he was weak, and furnished the world with ample proof of the contradictory passions of the man, who, one day, would hazard life to gain glory, that he might sacrifice it the next, at the footstool of a harlot! We pass over the public love he made to the countess of Moret, and afterwards to the Demoiselles des Essards. (Mezr. Page 934)

But

in many of the king's best actions, so much of his spirit, that to record them, is to erect a monument to his memory.

Wherefore,

But partiality alone could tempt us to overlook his designs upon the daughter of the constable Montmorency. No sooner had this cynosure of beauty appeared in a balet at court, in the character of Diana, than, "hit with Cupid's archery," Henry was overcome, and felt all those emotions which chastity never inspires. He flattered himself, but she continued inflexible. Yet he thought he might overcome her obstinacy by raising her to the highest dignity at court, next that of the queen. Wherefore, he married her to Condé, first prince of his blood; who, owing every thing to his bounty, subsisted upon the pensions allowed him. In vain were the entreaties, the remonstrances, the prayers of Sully opposed to this marriage. He knew the king's inclination, and foresaw that it would give birth to greater inconveniencies, than had arisen from any of his earlier connexions. His suspicions were soon found to be just; for, a few months had only elapsed, when Henry's flame shone with such brilliancy as not to escape the eyes of the youthful prince; who, highly irritated, and with reason, spoke so disrespectfully of the king, that, as a punishment for his rashness, his appointments were taken away. (Vide note on Sully V. 4. p. 365.) This treatment operated in a manner widely different from what was expected; for Condé, apprehensive that violence would be used where such severity had been practised, retired from court, and, shortly afterwards, carried his wife to Brussels, preferring, with a greatness of mind suitable to his education and birth, to throw himself upon the hospitality of a foreigner, rather than become an instrument at home in his own disgrace. His case was pitiable, his resolution heroic. It fully proved what majesty may live in the subject, what

Wherefore, however numerous may be the wise and good things said and done by Henry, one of the best proofs he gave of his worth and understanding, was his support of a minister, who gloried to applaud, but feared not to rebuke him; who served the nation many years with an ability only

what meanness in the king! Henry was disappointed. Ill-will arose from disappointment, and severity from ill-will. Revenge and desire operating with equal force, he became deaf to the advice of Sully, and rashly dispatched Praslin, a captain of his guards, to signify his intention to the arch-duke that Condé should be given up. It was thought a petty prince dared not oppose the omnipotent will of France; but nothing more could be obtained in reply to Henry's repeated demands, than that, as an esteem for the noble blood of the prince, induced the arch-duke to allow him a retreat, the laws of honour and hospitality would never permit that he should be given up. Nay, when an attempt was made to carry off the princess, and afterwards upon the person of the prince, the whole city of Brussels gallantly put itself under arms, in defence of its illustrious guests. Henry, in resentment of all this, which tended, as he said, to vilify his reputation, (for he thought like those persons who are the most tenacious of character when they have the least pretensions thereto) influenced the parliament to pass an arret against the prince, condemning him to undergo whatever punishment the king should think fit. Thus, what began in infamy ended in injustice; as much to the dishonour of the king, as it was reputable to the character and foresight of Sully, whose advice, if followed, would have prevented such indelible disgrace.

to

to be surpassed by his zeal ; and, in the end, may be said to have felt the wound, which deprived the world of a king, whose character, which we have thus freely placed in an impartial light, though deservedly honoured on many accounts, is, notwithstanding, like many others of great note, a reproach to its pride !

HAPPILY we find it as impossible to discover any trait in William's character, to correspond with that which we have just now sketched, as it would be to choose a Sully from amongst his ministers. As the head of a family, he was regular and discreet ; constant in his private prayers, and studious of the scriptures : he was an easy master, a steady friend, and a husband so truly affectionate, that he manifested the same tender regard to the memory of his queen, which she had experienced in her life time. As the head of a nation, he was a model of decency and devotion, in the public exercises of religion ; and he acted at all times, as if he were satisfied that, as worth constitutes
the

the citizen, where vice prevails, the state nurtures her foes in her own bosom, and her grandeur, however it may dazzle for the present, is, like the rising of the sun, but a splendid symptom that it is soon to set. He encouraged morals by example as much as by law; co-operated with parliament in every effort to maintain the interests of virtue; discouraged the publication of impious books; and forbade such theatrical representations as tended to immorality. Two societies were established under his immediate protection, for the reformation of manners at home, and the propagation of the gospel abroad; and liberal provision was made for those ecclesiastics who were employed to promote the good work.—In a word—If his life, like an epitaph, tells to the world that he lived for others as much as for himself, his last moments afford the most comfortable instances of the happiness of the christian hero, whose resolution expires but with himself.

Summary.

UPON the whole. It appears, that the early fortunes of Henry were not marked by

by those unpropitious, and seemingly irremediable circumstances, which loured upon the birth of William. For, although an ambitious neighbour had trespassed upon his hereditary rights, enough still remained, to prevent his becoming disrespected, either as to power or property. Whereas, the affairs of William wore a different aspect. He had, to all appearance, irrecoverably lost that consequence in his native country, which had distinguished his fathers, and might have enabled him, in future, to recover his patrimonial possessions from the usurpation of France, and, consequently, to restore his family affairs, at least, to a respectable condition—Besides, Henry's early genius was encouraged and enlarged: William's depressed and confined—Henry was a hero from constitution and education: William was one in spite of both—Henry, at an early age, was introduced into the world, by an able and experienced commander, under whose tutorage he acquired an extensive knowledge of the military art: William, totally inexperienced, and with-

out a friend to instruct him, was obliged, as the only method of saving his country, to put himself at the head of its troops—Henry, having connected himself with a strong party, acquired a reputation for arms, without any lasting advantage to himself or to his cause : William, at the head of troops despicable in point of discipline, and weak as to the comparative number of his foes, became at once respectable, by checking an inundation of French power—Of Henry it may be truly said that, from the death of his predecessor, at least, he continued in arms to aggrandize himself ; a throne was the object for which he contended : but William, even in his youth, rejected sovereignty to preserve his honour. The freedom of a nation was the prize for which he fought, and he obtained it. He defended a people, who, forgetful that they owed their all to the heroes from whom he sprang, had been zealous persecutors, and, as he well saw, had employed him in the arduous office of their general, from motives of necessity alone. Such generosity could not fail to
animate

animate with gratitude, even those who had not known it before. The people opened their hearts to him ; they rewarded him with their confidence, and with those honours which had been won by his ancestors, and by himself—Henry's spirit in battle has been universally applauded. William, we should think, exhibited tokens of the like spirit, which have been often censured. But, perhaps, the censure is not generally just. If the circumstances under which he acted be considered, it will, probably, appear, that the spirit thus reproached, so far from being the source of his losses and disappointments, was, in fact, not only necessary at times, but, frequently, the occasion of success to the cause which he had undertaken to defend. Let us remember the state of the Dutch troops when he put himself at their head. They were mean and enfeebled ; the levies, with which they were augmented, were hasty and undistinguished ; nor did his principal ally, the King of Spain, afford him much greater relief than is to be found in empty promises and assurances. Yet,

under such circumstances of imbecility, he was obliged to resist the best forces, commanded by the ablest generals of France. What, then, could have inspired his troops with sufficient steadiness and resolution to secure the advantage of Seneffe? what could have effected at the siege of Grave, in a few days, more than had been done there in a month before? and what could have deprived Luxembourg of the laurel, at Mons, but the example of that valour which has been so much decried? Indeed, the number and discipline of his troops, and the skill of his officers considered, it was William's misfortune, almost at all times, to meet his enemy upon unequal terms. Even after he became king of England, although it seemed as if he had obtained great supplies, effectual support was widely different from such appearances. Those supplies were, sometimes, insufficient; and, sometimes, from the ruinous difficulty of raising money upon the public credit, too long delayed. Faction, upon such, as upon almost all other occasions, was his foe. Besides, the troops
which

which his auxiliaries engaged to provide, were, frequently, the creatures of imagination, whose existence depended upon pompous lists. Yet, in spite of such great and numerous evils, his affairs, when directed by himself, appeared, always, at least respectable; while, in other hands, they were lazily and unsuccessfully carried on. These facts sufficiently demonstrate, that his disappointments in the field were not so much the effect of rashness or inability, as they have been commonly imagined. He fought in an animating cause. He made it his own, and fought accordingly. But, what valour, what skill can secure an unsuccessful commander from reproach? However, if he had never forced the praise of Condé or of Luxembourg; if he had not exhibited a dexterity of generalship at Seneffe or at Mons, the reduction of Namure would prove that, in military skill he rivalled, as in courage he at all times equalled, Henry—Indeed, as king of Navarre or France, Henry had not, by any means, the advantage of numbers; but his troops were choice; he was followed by a nobility

nobility trained to arms, who fought their reward in glory, and by generals of distinguished eminence and worth. Such circumstances gave him frequent advantage over his enemies ; but they never operated with greater success than on the plains of Ivry. Whereas, William had no such fortune to boast. Therefore, when Henry conquered, he but shared, while William, in the like situation, may be said to have engrossed the praise—If no one became victory better than Henry, it was William's peculiar art to be magnanimous in defeat—They were, indeed, the heroes of their times ; but the superior dignity of the cause in which William was engaged, stamps superior worth upon his conduct—In Henry we applaud the warrior more than the man ; in William we applaud the man more than the warrior—Henry's actions were frequently the offspring of private, William's always the consequences of public consideration——In the former, we admire the unabating fortitude, by which, in spite of so many perils and difficulties, he obtained his crown ; but, in the latter, we

we venerate the disinterested philanthropy of a heart too ample to be confined to a family, a sect, or a nation! a heart, justly esteemed the asylum of freedom and mankind! whose benevolence, sufficiently strong to instigate the hero, at the hazard of almost all that was dear, to the defence of an oppressed and injured people, with whom he was not immediately connected, was rewarded with a crown—Henry's was an inconsistent, William's a consistent character—Henry renounced the religion which he had long defended, from motives of policy: William continued the champion of the protestant faith, from principle alone—If Henry recovered France from the miseries of civil war, William restored and strengthened the British constitution—Henry shewed a noble inclination to befriend a grateful people, and he possessed the means of accomplishing his wishes. He was constantly fortunate in the service of a minister, as able as he was upright; and, upon becoming king of France, he became the tongue that spoke the law, and the hand that held the purse of the nation: whereas,

whereas, William had no Sully to watch, to think, and to toil for his glory ; he was generally restricted and opposed, even in his best designs ; yet, as far as his means and ability could perform, he was a faithful and generous king, to a discontented and ungrateful people—We do not impute to Henry, that the advantages of his government died almost with himself : but it is the glory of William, that, as the effects of his reign were safety and satisfaction to his subjects, they have remained the pride, the comfort, and the happiness of their descendants ; and must continue such, while the protestant religion has an interest in the world—It seems that Henry was well acquainted with the interests of his own kingdom, and also with those of foreign courts ; but a want of caution and reserve, an unsteadiness of disposition, and even a timidity at times, considerably derogated from his political character : whereas, William was deep and thoughtful. He was, what Henry endeavoured to be, the politician of Europe ; his toils supported, his counsels directed, his genius animated
that

that wise and illustrious confederacy, which defeated the arbitrary schemes of France. He was cautious to an extreme, and, like Henry, suspicious, sometimes, where confidence would have been a virtue. But apologies may be found, to plead in mitigation of those errors, as well as for his having taken into employment men who were alike suspected by himself and the nation, which will not operate in favour of a king who had experienced more fidelity in his servants, and was not, from the overbearing influence of faction, under the necessity of employing the worthless—Henry, in the general, cannot be too much applauded for his public, or too much censured for his private life: William was as uniformly amiable in a domestic as he was in a public station—Henry had strong passions which ruled him: William had strong passions which he ruled—Henry's art and eloquence could almost recommend his faults: William wanted art to make even his virtues captivating—Henry was frequently immoral; William was a just and persevering moralist—Henry's criminal enjoyments

enjoyments acquired an additional degree of inveteracy from their affording the most conspicuous example of that profligate love of pleasure, to which honour and religion are too frequently sacrificed : but, William finished an illustrious character, by continuing to act as a model of conjugal fidelity, domestic worth, inflexible integrity, and true religion. In a word, he surmounted more numerous distresses than Henry had to oppose ; his errors and mismanagements were fewer and less criminal ; his actions were universally as great, and, frequently, sprang from nobler principles. Wherefore, to sum up all at once, he may justly be considered as another Henry without his vices, and consequently a better man, a better christian, and a better king.



TO THE RIGHT HONOURABLE,
JOHN HELY HUTCHINSON, ESQ. LL.D.

REPRESENTATIVE IN PARLIAMENT FOR THE CITY OF CORK,

PROVOST OF TRINITY COLLEGE, DUBLIN,

AND,

ONE OF HIS MAJESTY'S MOST HONOURABLE PRIVY COUNCIL.

O D E.

HOW oft, where woodbines fling their shade,
With many a clust'ring rose conjoin'd,
And where full many a flow'r, from Spring purloin'd,
Breathes fragrancy, my muse essay'd
To court wild Fancy, her, the plastic maid,
Upon whose plume, with new delight,
The mind may wing her various flight,
O'er the slope of sunny hills,
Through the fields of daffodils,
By the fountain, by the stream,
Where the Loves are wont to dream ;

Or

Or where Echo's dirge is sung ;
 Or, with darkling ivy hung,
 Near yon consecrated spot,
 Where appears the hermit's grot ?

II.

How oft she fram'd her pipe to play,
 When, in his bloom of vigorous youth, the Morn
 In orient skies awoke the day,
 And bad the huntsman wind his early horn :
 How oft she fram'd her pipe to play,
 When dewy Evening bath'd each drooping plant ;
 When twilight eked the dubious day,
 And red-breasts trill'd their sweet responsive chant ?

III.

But ah ! as from yon thorn
 The lonely linnet, now,
 In notes that mock the pride of labouring art,
 To young and roseate Morn,
 Repeats her early vow,
 And tell the raptures of a moderate heart ;
 So, still, she sung

To

To dell, or woodland, or where streamlets flow;

No ear

To hear,

No honied tongue

The feast of commendation to bestow;

'Till, call'd from rustic privacy,

O friend of science! Hutchinson, by thee,

By thee, and by that letter'd band, †

Whose soft'ring care, whose cultivating hand,

Bids that fair plant of heavenly seed,

Genius! which shames each rose,

By nature nurs'd, that loveliest blows,

In luffihood its every charm expand,

And on ambrosial dews of praise to feed!

IV.

She heard thee, and, renouncing numbers

That only sooth'd the shepherd's slumbers,

In notes of length that slowly flow,

First sacrific'd to widow'd woe.

O! then, accept the artless lay,

That mourns the fate of beauteous Gray,

Nor

† The Fellows of the college.

Nor mourns in vain, since thou wilt hear,
Whose heart can share the pitying tear,
And knows how best itself to bless
By sympathising with distress!
Friend of my youth! thou unfought friend,
Whom gratitude shall still commend!
Thou, who, unask'd, as flows each ray,
From yonder golden source of day,
Didst pour upon my eager mind,
The living light of council kind!
By thee be won, as still 'tis woo'd,
Each hallow'd bliss of doing good;
Be thine, through life, that cherub guest
Content, that lulls each Care to rest,
And Peace, as mild as nestling dove,
And Friendship's joys, and home-born Love;
And, as the sum of all that good,
Which but by Worth is understood,
Rest satisfied with that supreme applause,
Which Heaven approves, and man from conscience
draws.

JEROM ALLEY.

THE
WIDOWED QUEEN:

OR,

ELIZABETH,
DOWAGER OF EDWARD IV.

DELIVERING UP
HER SECOND SON FROM SANCTUARY:

A P O E M.

THE SECOND EDITION.

*ELIZABETH GRAY, Dowager of Edward IV.
upon the decline of her party, and the imprisonment
of her Brother, the Earl of Rivers, by order of Glou-
cester, the Regent of England, took sanctuary in West-
minster-Abbey, with her second son, the Duke of York,
and other of her children. The consequences that followed
this event, afford the subject matter of the ensuing Poem.*

THE
WIDOWED QUEEN:

A P O E M.

THEE, sweet Simplicity, a youth invokes
For generous aid, who lately joy'd to rove
In shepherd's trim, with past'ral crook and pipe
Inglorious, or along the vi'let bank
Of tinkling brook, or 'neath the poplar shade,
Wistful to soothe thy parent Nature's ear,
With untaught strains of humblest minstrelsy;
But now aspires (per chance too rashly so)
To win the heart not churlish of a tear.
Whether, with eager care, the daisy gay,
Or dappled lilack, on yon fragrant mount,
Sweet cottager! thou cull'st; such as, ere while,
To pensive Gay, when tutored by thyself
To sing of black-ey'd Susan's grief, thou gav'st;

P

Or

Or whether, busied in some secret grot,
Through which, in many a maze, the limpid brook,
Still warbling, wanders o'er its pebbled floor,
To me, O come! O come to me! and teach
The native eloquence of tuneful song!

NOR, if my wishes might avail, should'st thou,
Staid power of History, be absent long;
But, seated in thine adamantine car,
Majestically plain thou should'st appear
With tablets in thine hand, where, fairly wrote
By Time's strict pen, the rules of life are seen;
A deathless laurel should enwreath thy brow,
And thy fair breast of living ivory seem
But as the shrine, where hoar Antiquity,
The letter'd sage, his treasures had repos'd.

Lo! yonder abbey, through whose gloomy aisles,
Depress'd, pale, haggard Melancholy stalks,
And Sorrow, that rejects a measur'd grief!
Would'st thou its cloisters rove? Thou shalt not rove,
If generous sympathy can touch thine heart,
Without bestowing many a tear on woe.

But,

BUT, mark yon altar! in lone majesty,
Unhappiness herself there sighing sits,
Pensive and sad! there royal Edward's queen
Broods o'er her alter'd fortune! now, those smiles,
Which but appear'd to charm, are drown'd in tears,
In tears, alas! unnotic'd: for, too oft
Friendship retires when wretchedness appears!
No more those 'witching strains, which Fancy's self
Harp'd through the palace, touch her drooping soul,
And warble Grief to rest! No more she counts
The Graces in her train, each rosy Grace
That taught Love's gentle science to the soul
Of Britain's king! but, in their stead, Regret,
And drooping Care, and every irksome Thought,
And Misery intent to hoard her grief!—
Ah! is there not an avarice in woe?
For see! methinks the sadly silent queen
Solicits every sorrow to herself!—
Too lovely mourner! are thy plaintive tears
To flow adown for ever? Shall thine eyes
Recall their day no more? Shall not thy cheek,

Again display the rose's gayest hue,
And art thou thus to die beneath the storm?

SAY, whence the cause that Innocence thus feels
The shaft of sorrow, whence her tresses flow,
Her golden tresses, that could rival erst
The fair Diana's, negligent behind,
Nor bound, as wont, with glittering clasp? Tell,
Why does she drooping sit, with folded hands,
Why, now, to heaven direct her looks, and, now,
Scare cloister'd Echo with her frequent cries?

WHILOM, in Britain liv'd a valiant king,
Fam'd, skilful or to arm the cornel spear
With Death's pale terrors, or to guide the steel
Swift to the heart, when fierce the battle rag'd:
Edward, his name, a youth full often wont,
On milk-white steed, with horns and hounds to lead
Through devious woods, the dangers of the chase.
Far from the scite where London rears aloft
Her antique towers this passion led the king,
Even to the rural scenes of Grafton's wood,

Where,

Where, deep embosom'd from the busy world,
Stood thy fair mansion, Gray! † a happy home,
And happy thou its queen, with dove-ey'd Peace,
And sober Quiet, for thy gentle guests!—
And, now, the winding horn re-echoes nigh,
The hounds pursue their course, the gen'rous steed
Spurns back the plains, and Edward, led by chance,
Views this retreat. Ah! little did he deem
Of all that beauty which should quickly hold
His heart in willing thralldom! Gray appear'd,
And, with an unaffected ease, bespoke
The youthful king.—He saw! he heard! he lov'd!
But with no fleeting passion; for in her
Were found, whate'er to sense or soul could yield
Unceasing rapture; 'semblage meet that shone
Fairest amidst the fairest, yet, that shone
Unconscious of its beauty! In her breast
(As if internal merit would surpass
External) like the di'mond set in gold,
Fair Modesty sat mistress of her shrine.

† Elizabeth, daughter of the Dutehess of Bedford, by Sir John Wildville, was first married to Sir John Gray.

SUCH graces triumph'd thus o'er Edward's soul,
Who, doubtful or to feast his eager love,
Or fly at once the magic of her charms,
Would ponder oft, and often fondly say,
Is not true virtue true nobility?
And, if 'tis noble, as that surely is
Which bears the best similitude to heav'n,
Then Gray, tho' cottage-born, would grace a throne.
Yes! 'tis not haughty birth, nor ampler wealth
Than either fruitful India could produce,
Shall sway my mind, while reason governs there!
Then, hence, ye grov'ling thoughts! hence ye that rule
Those slaves of fashion, who are yet to learn,
Chance gives the throne, but heav'n must make the queen.
Yes, lovely Gray! heav'n meant thee for a queen;
And, had I fifty crowns, each should be thine;
For, rather with such virtue would I live,
Ev'n as a pilgrim with his staff and scrip,
Content, beneath the humbler shed, to taste
The sweetly-breathing herb, and bev'rage pure
From yonder brook, than on Britannia's throne,

Elate,

Elate, in all the majesty of kings,
To wield the scepter, if it were not thine
To share the sway!—Thus would the youthful king
Enraptur'd speak, an advocate for charms,
Whose eloquence but little needed aid
To teach his soul the extacy of love.
Alas! unhappy was his love for her,
Who, hand in hand with Peace, might ramble now,
To care a stranger, o'er each happier scene,
By nature's rarest science taught to please,
Had royalty ne'er reach'd her rural home!
Unhappy love for her! who now might wear
Each gayest wreath that shepherd's skill could choose,
From Spring's ripe treasures, nor have found the crowns
Which Pomp affects, beset with wounding thorns;
Nor, like the widow'd turtle, have to wail
Her mate for ever lost! her Edward dead!
Her royal fun for ever, ever set!

UNFRIENDED, widow'd, conscious that the flame,
Which curst ambition kindled in the soul
Of ruthless Richard, not the purple flood,

From

From Edward's bleeding family could quench;
While Virtue now at every vein expir'd,
And Flattery bent the servile knee to Power,
The weeping mother, with her infant race,
Poor hapless wanderers! fought this sacred shrine.

BUT, ah! what barrier will ambition brook?
That fell Ambition, whose insatiate maw,
Ev'n in fruition, feels a craving still!
That fell ambition, which bade Tarquin rise,
Which rais'd a Catiline to deluge Rome,
And now bids Richard draw the murderous steel
To sheath it in the bosom of a babe!
Lo! power is his, and Syren art, to lure
Suspicion, tho' she boast an hundred eyes:
He wields the sword of Tyranny elate,
Curs'd with an heart that never knew the bliss
To feel for woe! whose pride infernal scorns
Each fence that would seclude him from a crown.
Let me, he cries, on Simulation's wing,
O'er each obstruction, like the eagle, soar
To Britain's throne!—What, tho' the eyes of Gray,

With

With tears furcharg'd, should strive to teach my soul
A mother's pangs ; what, tho' her lip essay
To whisper to my breast what pity is ;
'Tis mine to scoff at her,—to spurn at nature,
And, shielded with insensibility,
Pursue my onward course.—Go thou, my friend,
(To York's archbishop thus he said) and bring
The infant prince, whose mother much insults
Our government, by these her ill-tim'd fears,
And choice of sanctuary.—Edward's safe,
And Edward's in the palace, England's king.
Do thou, wise cardinal, attend, and hold
Such converse, as may dissipate the fears
Which hang o'er Gray ; for sure, it is not meet
That fairest fruit should feel the nipping blast,
But ripen i'the sun. Haste, then, my friends ;
And, if she listen not, say Richard's arm
Must bear him thence ; for it behoves me, thus,
T' acquit my duty to a brother's son.—
He spake, while in his heart the purpose fell
Of deadliest hue lay hid ; for, power acquir'd,

He

He pants for more, and urges on his course,
Regardless both of infamy and guilt.
Thus, from the sloping side of craggy hill,
Th' impetuous river bursts, and, swoln with rain,
Its muddy torrent on the village pours,
'Till all is desolation!—But, the queen,
What curst ambition meditated knows,
For, what can cheat a tender mother's fears?
Full oft her mind revolves the grievous thought,
Full oft her boy she snatches to her breast,
And, silent, bodes his ruin. O! she cries,
Look down, protecting Heaven! with pity's eye,
With pity's eye, look down upon my babe,
And save, O! save him from tyrannic power!
She pauses; for upon their brazen hinge
The gates unfold, while ruthless Fate prepares
To give the last sad blow to Misery!
Say, cries the queen, for Richards friends approach,
Or, have your gentle natures led you here,
To pour your consolation on a wretch
No stranger now to pain? or, are ye come

To

To call down sacrilege upon a soul
As vast and black as hell? Yes, hope is vain!
Richard's insensible! and all my fears
Proclaim the purpose of your errand here!—
To whom, thus York—My queen, you wrong him much;
Mild is his government; nor is it meet
That ill-tim'd fears should urge you, innocent,
To seek the shrine, where criminals alone
Might hope asylum from the hand of law.
So says my lord protector, who invites
You and your son to liberty and peace.
Then hide not longer in a cloyster's round
His early virtue fair; that virtue needs
The skilful hand of education, still
To aid its growth, and, as the blossom opes,
To call forth all its beauty.—Yes, the queen
Thus hastily replies, the blossom's fair!
Too fair, alas! for Richard's jaundic'd sight!
O! would its budding had been far from courts,
Far from the blighting breath of envious Pomp,
In Grafton's vale, in Grafton's peaceful home,

With

With clinging ivy hung, whose doors would ope,
But ope to Quiet, ope to true Content,
My constant guests! with whom, at early morn,
I often brush'd the dews from flowret sweet,
Oft mark'd the peaceful progress of the stream,
Which, had my soul been wise, then taught me well,
To shun the sea in which ambition toils.
Alas! alas! how alter'd! how contemn'd!
How wretched! how complete am I in woe!
Lo! lo! my ways, which velvet once o'erspread,
Are planted now with thorns! and every pain
And every grief is mine!—Then, reverend sirs,
If pity in your bosom dwells, return,
For Richard's government you say is mild,
And teach his soul to do one gentle deed,
To spare my child! let feeling prayers obtain!
Let Heaven command what Gray scarce dares to hope!
And, tho' he snatches to his vile misrule
The British sceptre, I shall envy not,
If one, poor, hapless woman with her babes,
Her blameless babes! for whom, and whom alone

She

She sorrows thus, may sanctuary keep,
And ruminate upon their fallen fortune!

TRUST me, the virtuous cardinal reply'd,
Trust me, unhappy queen! your infant son
Shall be the care of Providence, unhurt
'Mid all the tumult of a troubled court.
Then, weep not thus; forsake this dreary scene,
A scene unfitting thee, whose former day
Prosperity illum'd with brightest beams!
And let fond hope inform thy feeling soul,
Your son shall live, shall flourish in the care
Of those, who have the power and will to save
Him, the fair image of his royal sire!—
Oh! cries the queen, say that my child shall live!
Say he shall live! cast but one ray of hope!
One generous ray! and I shall still revere,
And call you saint or angel! Yet, my soul,
Still to itself exhibits direful scenes
Of various sorrow! various woe! and death!—
And see! 'tis Richard's self! the tyrant stalks,
Studious of newer horrors! Lo! he glides

Along

Along the paly aisles!—But why, oh! why
Should all my chosen friends be doom'd to bleed
Beneath his direful power? why should they fall?
The noble Rivers!—Pardon this poor tear;
For many a tear to Rivers' fate is due;—
And virtuous Gray! but burst not thou my heart;—
And generous Vaughan!—Oh! why should black Revenge,
Why curst Ambition lift the sanguine arm,
And feast upon the wailings of a world?
No! no! my lords; here on the chilling stone
We'll sigh our griefs, and, if the fix'd decree
Of Providence deny us better fate,
We here will rove the hollow cloyster's round,
And teach our limbs to mock the whistling winds!

OH! why, cry'd York, wilt thou, unhappy Gray!
Refuse to our entreaties, what, by force,
Richard shall sternly win? Think we are honest;
Think that your son shall live, shall happ'ly live,
In peace secure.—Then, be it so—she said,
Since I am doom'd to ceaseless misery here!

Am

Am doom'd to live a monument of woe!
Take! take my babe! and yet can I pronounce,
Farewell to him! farewell! farewell to him,
Through whose young heart my all of life-blood flows!—
But oh! I sicken—chilling dews creep o'er me—
It is!—mark, first—my Edward waves his hand!
His look dejected! sorrow in his eyes!
He comes to tell me, from the dreary tomb,
My tender! blameless! infant lambs must bleed!—
But, if they must—Hold! bloody villains, hold!
Oh! slay the mother first, nor let her see
Her infant martyrs smiling on their fate!—
Alas! 'tis chaos all! I rave! I rave!
And madness sure hath seiz'd on reason's seat.—
Then, hear me, Heav'n! hear, while I yet can pray!
And grant the prayer a wretched mother makes!
Let dire Ambition dread to lift the steel
Against my babes; or, if the monster dare,
Then let such palsies shake through all his nerves,
As Impotence hath never known as yet!
Let tearful Pity plead in all their looks,

That

That Tyranny may sink to Penitence,
And wonder at his adamant heart!
And oh! still let their blameless manners thaw
Insensibility's cold breast, and teach
The wretch to feel, who never felt before.

SHE says, and turns to gaze upon her babe;
But ah! in pity, York had snatch'd him hence.
'Tis done! she cries, and sits her down t' enjoy
The wretched comfort of unceasing tears!

So Philomela, when some wand'ring boor,
With ruffian hand hath spoil'd her downy nest,
And borne her infant family away,
Night after night, tells from the aspin bough,
Which seems to shudder at her sorrowing strain,
The various anguish of her little heart!



THE
O R A T I O N
OF

P H I L I P P A,

QUEEN OF EDWARD III.

IN FAVOUR OF THE
BURGHERS OF CALAIS.

THE SECOND EDITION.

THE
JOURNAL
OF THE
ROYAL ANTHROPOLOGICAL INSTITUTE
OF GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND

VOL. LXXV. PART I. 1905.

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ROYAL ANTHROPOLOGICAL INSTITUTE
OF GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND

OF THE JOURNAL OF THE

THE SECOND EDITION

TO THE REVEREND

WILLIAM FORDE, M. A.

DEAR SIR,

SENSIBLE as I am of the profit, which, during the course of my education under you, I derived, as well from your conscientious attention to the discharge of the arduous and honourable duties of your station, as from your extensive ability in the formation, not only of the intellectual but moral lives of your pupils; to whom, with any credit to myself, could I dedicate one of the first successful efforts of my pen, but to the gentleman who assisted, cherished, and directed my understanding, in almost every period of its progress, with the capacity of a master, and the affection of a friend?

BUT, sir, besides those former debts, for which you have a claim upon my gratitude, there is a peculiar propriety in my addressing the following

Q 2

essay

DEDICATION.

essay to you.—You were of the number of my friends who first encouraged me to become a candidate for two of the prizes which were offered by the Provost and Fellows of our College; you attentively read my preparatory sketches; and, with the reverend William Richardson, my worthy tutor, favoured me with that approbation, which, in a great measure, encouraged my perseverance in erecting those slender monuments to the sufferings of Gray, and the magnanimity of Philippa.

ACCEPT, then, what inclination, as much as duty, directs me to present; and continue to believe that I am, with every sentiment of gratitude, affection and respect,

DEAR SIR,

YOUR FAITHFUL AND

MOST OBLIGED SERVANT,

JEROM ALLEY.

CALAIS had gallantly sustained a siege of nearly twelve months, when John de Vienne, a knight as remarkable for courage as fidelity, was compelled, by the insupportable distresses of the garrison, to propose terms of capitulation to the besieger, Edward III. But the king, highly irritated by the obstinacy of their defence, refused granting them any thing more than life, and this too on the hard condition, that six of the principal Burgbers should become a sacrifice to the rest. On this occasion, Eustace de St. Pierre proposed himself as one; and, his illustrious example being soon followed by five others, the intended victims heroically marched out, naked to the shirt, with bal- ters about their necks, and presented the conqueror with the keys of their city. This awful spectacle failed not to excite the tenderest emotions in the hearts of the British soldiery. The Prince of Wales and all the general officers interceded for the captives; but, Edward seeming inflexibly determined on their execution, Philippa, his queen, fell upon her knees, and is supposed to have addressed him in the following manner.

THE
O R A T I O N
O F

P · H I L I P P A,

QUEEN OF EDWARD III.

ALAS! my lord, have I lived to this inauspicious moment, but to behold you inflexibly determined on your own disgrace? Shall not the glorious efforts of your son be able to subdue one rash resolve in the breast of a father? And is it, my Edward, is it fixed for time to whisper to posterity, that the glorious conqueror at Cressy was repulsed in the cause of mercy? —My love! my life! 'tis Philippa speaks, she who would wish every thing for your glory, but almost fears to wish! she who has been already victorious for her king, and would now lead him

him to a victory, the most glorious heaven can reserve for the hero,—a victory over himself!—Hear me! on my knees I conjure you, hear me! and, if there be aught of greatness that becomes, or of pity that can soften the man in thy bosom, reject not the cause of illustrious wretchedness, for the inability of the pleader.

LET me invite you, my lord, to a retrospect of your reign. It exhibits a prospect of continued glory, which, envy herself must acknowledge, is not to be excelled. While honour—even she whom my fancy beholds as hovering o'er you on the wings of a cherubim, wishful to stay, yet ready to depart for ever—while honour was your attendant, justice was your guide; and however mercy at times may have mourned at your decrees, she never frowned. No, my lord, though young, you were deliberate; though a steady, you were not a rigorous minister of the laws; you punished the vice, but lamented the man; and, even when most severe, the penalties you inflicted were mercies to the public.

SUCH was your early conduct; a review of which, methinks, might be capable of awakening

ing your lethargic virtues ; might prevent your making a sacrifice of your fame, to a mistaken policy, or sanguinary revenge. Besides, my Edward, should he, who, regardless of the voice, and fearless of the strength of a party, crushed tyranny in the person of a Mortimer, and, though it appeared in the form of a mother, drove oppression from before the throne,* should he, now, when his reason is mellowed by experience, degenerate into a baser tyrant, and lose his own in the character of a more detestable oppressor ?

You have, hitherto, been the impartial governor of a free, be, now, the equitable conqueror of a brave people : for, my lord, the rights of victory have, very often, but a weak foundation ; one word explains them all. Strength, to-day, gives you authority, but superior strength, to-morrow, may snatch that authority from you, and place it in the hands of Philip. 'Tis true, indeed, France is yours of right, and
you

* The perfidious Mortimer was arrested by the king's own hand, and shortly afterwards executed by the common hangman. In his ruin ended the misrule of Isabella the queen mother.

you have fought, not like the imperial butcher of old, who deluged the world to gratify the frenzy of ambition, but to diffuse the happiness of a British government, over a territory, to which you have an indubitable claim. Yet, sir, remember, there are many in the number of your opponents, who consider you merely as an invader; as a soldier, whose pretensions exist but in the edge of his sword; as a king, whose ambition grasps at empire, and is indifferent by what means it is to be obtained. Can you, then, in the sober moments of reflection, authorise the world to say, its suspicions were justly founded, by condemning a people whose resistance proceeded from such heroic principles? a people, who, every inch of ground they dispute with you, prove themselves more worthy of participating those blessings which your heart is ample enough to bestow. Yes, my lord, fearful though I am of offending, I must still contend, you have not a shadow of authority over the lives of your prisoners. They owe you no fealty, for they have sworn you no allegiance: they opposed you from a principle of duty, and, by their opposition, proved themselves heroes.

BUT,

BUT, my lord, supposing many of your opponents to be convinced of the justice of your cause; yet, can you think they could have conducted themselves but nearly as you have experienced? Power, such as Philip's, * will be obeyed, and little would it brook a contradiction to what it is determined to perform: nor, were there a citizen, whom France had commanded to his standard, less prompted by interest than justice, to refuse such a command, would he escape punishment and constraint. Hence, it is, if their resistance was founded on a principle of duty, they must merit, nay almost enforce your admiration; but, if arising from the overbearing influence of compulsion, a tear, at least, is due to the fate of an unhappy people, whom, if they are to be punished for doing what they could not avoid, you reduce to the fate of the hapless mariner, who flings himself into a merciless ocean, to escape the conflagration of his ship!

To these reasons for rescinding the sentence you have pronounced upon the unhappy burghers, let me add the mistaken policy of putting

* Philip, King of France.

ting it into execution. Could such dreadful punishment crush all opposition; could national interest be urged as a plea of excuse to the world; could you hope in future that your arms would be crowned with success, yet, even were these suppositions true, a wounded conscience would still reproach you with the ungenerous action; the very foundation of sovereignty, the people's love, would be shaken; and the idea of being an execrated king, would deprive you of the fruits of conquest! But, experience forbids these suppositions! Victory is fickle; and, for aught our narrow foresight can perceive, she may rest to-morrow on the standard of Philip. Should this happen, and the madness of passion urge you to the immediate execution of those illustrious citizens—what may be the consequences? Alas! my tongue fails, and my blood is frozen at the thought!—May not a torrent of English blood—but I will not pain you with my suggestions; I will invite, solicit, on my knees entreat you to revoke a sentence which dishonours you, and to endeavour by lenity to obtain, what from cruelty you can never hope.

TRUST,

TRUST me, sir, cruelty will beget complaint, and the hundred tongues of complaint, will speak and be heard, tho' all mankind were deaf. Be not obstinate, then, nor hope, by rigour, to intimidate your opponents; for, from the moment you begin to persecute, you will give existence to an Hydra, which, though you were another Hercules, shall mock the inability of your arm! Besides, my lord, consider how the world would reflect upon your character. Because you are here superior to the controul of law, would you, therefore, renounce the feelings of a man, or the generosity of a conqueror? would you enable the public to say, that you became a tyrant, because you might be a tyrant with impunity? no! my lord, this were a species of infamy and cowardice, you can never stoop to: it were an example of such cruelty and vice, as you can never set before a generous people. The brave man is always merciful; and the more power he has to punish, the less will he exert it! The time has been when you thought thus: when I have known compassion, in some measure, convert you into the person of the sufferer: when
you

you have melted at distress, and, being convinced there were more opportunities to injure than assist, you exulted in the moment of communicating happiness. Am I not still to think that benevolence subsists in your nature, and that you struggle against its influence, but from private and partial motives? Conquer these, my Edward, if such there are—shew for what rectitude and dignity you were formed—be equitable, and be—yourself!

HITHERTO that happy continence of mind has been yours, which could neither be elated by the syren smiles of prosperity, nor depressed by the frowns of disappointment! you have possessed that gentle, but noble disposition, which wore honours without pride; supported power without insolence; and alike contemned the tyrant and the slave. But, alas! my Edward, the picture seems reversed; and, as if you were intoxicated with success, you have almost forgotten that he is the meanest slave who cannot rule himself, and the worst of tyrants who punishes to display his power.

I WOULD induce you, my lord, to consider how enviable you might make your station—

That

That station gives you power—that power enables you to be merciful---and, in being merciful, would you not emulate the most glorious attribute of heaven? Meer power, my lord, is but an hungry vulture ; but power with mercy is the bird of Jove with the heart of a dove. 'Tis the true symbol of heaven; amiable tho' awful, and enticing even at the moment it commands. Power is for the man of reason, not for the tyrant: for him, who, happily subordinate to prudence, exerts it but to bless; not for the being who confesses himself a slave to passion, and hopes to rush like a whirlwind to the gratification of his wishes, but creeps, alas! on the tardy limbs of the tortoise. Power, sir, is but a deposit in your hands; 'tis not your own, but originates with heaven; 'tis a delegated blessing for the good of thousands, and not a partial gift for the aggrandizement of one. And can you, then, convert this blessing into a curse, and, thwarting that benevolent will, which is infinite in mercy, at once o'erleap the bounds of so sacred a trust, and prostitute the noblest prerogative of kings, to enmity, and revenge?

YOU

You frown, my love! you chide me with your looks!—But know, my lord, tho' fate were in that frown; tho' every look were the look of a basilisk, still should sincerity be bold, and love importunate, while there remained an hope to the hapless Philippa of saving her Edward—from himself!—What would you more? Calais is yours, and Valois trembles! Would you—but let not an echoe waft it to the listening ears of Britain, for Britain is brave, but merciful as brave, invincible in arms, and as invincible in honour—would you—who taught the navy of your country to ride commandress of the sea; whose example gave vigour to the old, and courage to the young; who, scorning the puny artifices of France, would triumph by the deeds of manhood in the field, not by the insidious negociations of the politician in the cabinet—but, above all, would you—who saw your other self, * your son, my hero! my boy! vigour scarce ripened on his cheek, or manhood budded on his chin—would you—who beheld this eaglet of your
own

* Edward the black prince.

own nest, this hero in nonage, shining amidst the glow of battle, and teaching France to crouch---would you, I say, degenerate into a coward, insult the vanquished, and with halters disgrace the necks of those, for whose brows, you should pluck the laurel even from your own? But, what did I say?--Nay, my lord, persist in your sanguinary purpose, and you shall at once create so many heroes to give splendour to the annals of history, and immortalize your own disgrace!

O, SIR, hard is my task; hard is the fate that obliges me to plead before you the cause of virtue in distress! But, in the name of consistency I beseech you, continue to hear me; you whom conquest, the most signal and honourable that history has to record, could not divert from the glorious purposes of humanity. For, was it not Edward that guided the battle at Cressy? and, on the same scene, did not the same Edward bid victory pause, that he might assist the wounded, and give sepulture to the dead? Some days were spent in these ennobling

R

works

works of piety ; to the hero, how great ! to the man, how glorious ! Edward in arms, then outdid Edward—but Edward in mercy emulated heaven ! How, my lord, can you forget that auspicious moment, which at once evinced your bravery and benevolence ? or were the praises which the world bestowed, or the inward satisfaction experienced, so little to be wished for, that, now, when they might be renewed by the same humanity, they are disregarded and contemned ? Look back, my lord, to past events ; recall one of those the most signal, perhaps, that shall ennoble history. Your own feelings will inform you 'tis of Aiguillon * I would speak. Yes, my lord, the scene lives in idea ; you see your gallant people endure all the miseries of a siege, with an uncomplaining patience—you mark the inflexible loyalty of your soldiers, which, though their city has been stormed one and twenty times in a week, is still able to repel Normandy, and repel him with disgrace—Is not this great—is not this

* A town of Agenois in France, which in 1346 held out a siege against John, duke of Normandy.

glorious—

glorious—it is! it is! for Edward assents with a tear!—O! then, my lord, be consistent; prize in Calais what you have honoured in Aiguillon, and, even in a foe, do justice to that spirit, which has so often conquered for you.

IF, sir, I solicited any thing unreasonable—if my petitions were not sanctified by justice, and founded on truth—if it was a Nero, or a Dionysius I was entreating, my soul might bode a refusal! but, when the equity of my wishes cannot be denied—when Edward is my judge, am I to fear for the further miseries of the distressed? Can you, who have been half an age seeking occasions to do good and perform it! can you, who were never the enemy of justice; who added lustre to dignity by humanity and compassion; whose generous sympathy extended to all mankind—can you, I say, with a sordid littleness of mind, forget yourself in a struggle to overcome that spirit of philanthropy which ennobles every action? Can you hesitate a moment, when you reflect that even the prerogative of conquest gives but

R 2

a power

a power over the freedom and property of the captive? Yes, my lord, they have a right to the security of life. They have a right to more, much more, than, upon an occasion of infinitely greater provocation, you unsolicitedly performed. When Philip, the haughty Philip *, sacrificed his British captives to a sanguinary revenge, did Edward retaliate? On the contrary, did he not, with an heroism worthy of himself, subdue resentment; leave the murders to the vengeance of heaven, and experience a reward in that sabbath of the mind, which is the constant enjoyment of the truly virtuous.

STILL, my lord, my fears inform me, you are rivetted to your purpose—If it be so—if your generosity cannot determine you—if, in this ideal plentitude of power, you scorn adhering to that system, you so gloriously begun—if the wishes of your people, the prayers and intreaties of your child, and your wife, are unavailing—if you disregard the

* King of France.

consequences of such an action—the hatred and contempt of France—the disaffection of England, taught no longer to esteem what she once adored—at least deceive not yourself with imaginary hopes of advantage; let not the gleam of a momentary thought give colour to such a deception—and, though you disregard the imbecility of a woman's arguments, disregard not the reproaches of the injured, or the feelings of a man; those feelings which yonder prospect might arouse, methinks, to tenderest sympathy—See Calais, how fallen!—see her pride humbled to the dust! Here, Grief, sitting like an hermit, solicits sorrow to himself! There, gentle as a dove, Affection fixes her eyes on the beloved object! Here, Age, in the bitterness of his heart, laments the tardiness of death! and there, Infancy smiles at its mother's woes!—But look! my lord, 'tis patriotism in the person of Vienne! his neck bound with an halter whose brows should be wreathed with everlasting laurel! Hark! he cries to his illustrious companions—“ Is this the meed of an
“ honourable resistance? is it thus the gallant
“ Edward

“ Edward deems of valour? and are we to
“ perish for being men? But, be it so—he shall
“ see we are not to fall unrevenged! and, even
“ in our last agonies, we will look with con-
“ tempt on the merciless Briton—smile in a
“ consciousness of our own glory—and convince
“ him that virtue is happiness, even in death;
“ and guilt, at best, but splendid misery!”—If
this prospect cannot excite, or this language
command your feelings for such distress! pro-
ceed on your purposes—emulate the cruelty of
Carthage! and, while envy exults in the ruin
of your fame, enjoy the certainty of having
obtained an immortality of disgrace—Will you
not proceed?—will you not perform the deed?
—and, having triumphed over the feelings of
nature, take shame and remorse for your eter-
nal guests?—Nay, rash man, you shall not stir
—Crush me! torture me in every nerve—but
rush not on your own disgrace! By all that
is gentle and generous—by all that is merciful
and forgiving—by all that is interesting and
precious! I conjure you desist—free those cap-
tives—subdue your passions—and return to
yourself—

yourself—But, what do I see! a tear in my Edward's eye! and compliance smiling on his face! Yes! bountiful heaven! I am not deceived! Pierre is free—Philippa has succeeded, and Edward is the hero; for Edward hath conquered himself!

T H E . E N D.



